

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Abolish Pay Board! No wage controls!

The following statement by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, was released March 29.

President Nixon's decision to reconstitute the Pay Board and continue the government wage controls following the walkout by four of the board's five labor members last week showed his determination to pursue his administration's assault on the American working people.

This represents a direct challenge to the labor movement. It calls for an all-out, united struggle by the labor movement to defend itself against the government's assault on wages, the abrogation of wage increases contained in negotiated contracts, infringements upon the right to strike, and the continuing threat of inflation, speedup, layoffs, and unemployment.

More and more Americans are beginning to see through the bipartisan lies that the wage-price control policy instituted last August would curb prices and create jobs. Here is what we've seen instead:

February grocery prices skyrocketed at an annual rate of increase of 24 percent, the highest rate in 14 years.

The February Consumer Price Index as a whole jumped by a

six percent annual rate, the largest since last June.

Unemployment continues to hover near six percent.

Three-fourths of all retail stores and 40 percent of all rental units are exempt from any price controls whatsoever.

Wage increases were ground down from an average of 8.2 percent in the first half of 1971 to 6.2 percent in the second half of 1971.



Linda Jenness

Businesses were given tax credits—called "job incentives"—while according to government reports, 1971 profits climbed to \$47.4 billion, compared to

\$41.2-billion in 1970. This was the sharpest rise since 1965.

Nixon proposed compulsory arbitration legislation against striking West Coast longshoremen, which was adopted with bipartisan support in the Democratic-controlled Congress. And then the Pay Board denied the longshoremen's contract, which was won only after a 134-day strike.

The past seven months have shown Americans more clearly what the "wage-price controls" were really designed to do: to drive down the real wages and living standards of wage earners.

George Meany, Leonard Woodcock, Floyd Smith, and I. W. Abel decided to end their open collaboration with the Nixon administration and walked off the Pay Board because they want to see a Democrat elected in November. Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters union, stayed on the board. Following the lead of ex-Teamsters president James Hoffa, who has endorsed Nixon, Fitzsimmons is trying not to embarrass Nixon before the 1972 elections.

Does the Pay Board walkout mean that those who left intend to launch a struggle against the wage controls? Far from it.

The AFL-CIO statement ex-

plaining their reasons for the walkout admits that the board was not independent of the government and that wages were held down while prices were allowed to rise. However, the statement does not condemn the policy of wage controls itself or the concept of a "tripartite" board that includes labor, business, and "public" representatives. It does not point out that any pay board, regardless of how it is constituted, will be a form of government control over wages and the right to strike.

Why wages don't cause inflation. See article on page 21.

The labor officials who walked off didn't condemn the policy of wage controls because they all support such controls. In fact Meany publicly called for wage controls—as well as for a "tripartite" board to enforce the controls—even before Nixon announced his New Economic Policy.

The labor bureaucrats have simply criticized the way the Nixon administration ran the Pay Board. They believe that Nixon's Pay Board was too crude in its antilabor actions. They imply that a Pay Board run by a Democratic administration would be more satisfactory.

Continued on page 5

Soledad Brothers acquitted



John Cluchette



Fleeta Drumgo

— page 5

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 50,000 at Wash., D.C., Children's March
- 4 Impact of nationalism felt at Gary convention
- 5 Soledad Brothers acquitted
- 8 Equal Rights passage represents victory
- 9 ITT and Chile
- 10 NPAC calls for unity on April 22
- 11 April 22 countdown French antiwar week planned
- 12 Why labor and Raza should break with capitalist parties
- 14 Jenness, McGovern speak at U of Wis.
- 15 Jenness, Pulley tour Texas; Ill.
- 16 Racists organize against Ga. busing order
- 17 American Indian Mvm't fights brutality Lordstown strike ends
- 19 Questions facing Puerto Rican Socialist Party
- 24 British gov't imposes direct rule on N. Ireland Davis trial

- 2 In Brief
- 3 The Militant Gets Around
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 The Great Society Women: The Insurgent Majority
- 9 The National Picket Line
- 14 '72 Socialist Campaign
- 16 By Any Means Necessary
- 18 La Raza en Acción
- 20 In Review

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POLITICS AND ST. PATRICK'S DAY: More than 100,000 people participated in the St. Patrick's Day Parade in New York this year. The parade included contingents of the Irish Republican Clubs of the U.S. and Canada, the National Association for Irish Freedom, and Noraid (Northern Aid Committee) marching under their own banners. This broke a long-standing policy of excluding political contingents from the parade.

Marchers wore black armbands in memory of those who have died in the struggle for national liberation in Ireland, particularly those murdered by British troops in Derry last January. The slogans raised were for immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, an end to internment, and a free and unified Ireland.

Organizers of the parade, in a bureaucratic attempt to avert "politicizing" it, set an arbitrary deadline for applications by political groups to march as contingents with their own banners. Consequently, the Anti-Internment Coalition and other organizations were prevented from appearing with their banners.

LONGSHOREMEN IN SOLIDARITY ACTION: The Anti-Internment Coalition sponsored a picket line at the docking of **Queen Elizabeth II** in New York on March 24 in support of its demands for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from occupied Ireland and an immediate end to internment.

Militant reporter Claire Moriarty told us: "The 1,800 members of Local 344 of the International Longshoremen's Association assigned to unload the British cargo walked off the ship at 8 a.m. in solidarity with the coalition's picket. The longshoremen refused to cross the picket line and boarded the ship only after the demonstrators had dispersed."

The picket line—and the act of solidarity by the longshoremen—drew wide publicity. ILA leaders, including President Teddy Gleason, have called for a boycott of British goods until British troops have withdrawn from Ireland and internment has ended.



Photo by Mark Reynolds

Longshoremen honor Anti-Internment Coalition picket line in New York.

HEAD OF SCOTLAND YARD PICKETED IN PHILLY: More than 150 demonstrators demanding immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland greeted head of Scotland Yard Sir John Waldron in Philadelphia March 23. He was the featured speaker at the Crime Commission dinner held at the Belview-Stratford Hotel. Spirited picketers chanted, "No More Bloody Sundays," "British Troops Out Now," and "Ireland for the Irish," and passed out literature to rush-hour crowds. The leaflets protested the internment of the more than 800 men in internment camps who are presently being interrogated and tortured as a result of British repression in Northern Ireland. The leaflet explained that "Scotland Yard detectives, in conspiracy with the British occupation army and the illegal Stormont government, helped arrest these men." It demanded that they be immediately set free. The demonstration was organized by the Irish Northern Aid Committee (69th St. branch) and was attended by a number of groups supporting self-determination for Ireland, including members of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

D.C. ACTION HITS HUSSEIN 'PEACE' PLAN: On March 15 Jordan's King Hussein announced his "peace" plan, the formation of a new United Arab Kingdom to be composed of what is presently the kingdom of Jordan plus the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River. The *New York Times* called it "Hussein's dream," a plan "surely worth considering as a possible opening toward peace in the Middle East." U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers was afraid to comment, lest "we (the Nixon administration) kill it with our embrace." Arab governments with the exception of Saudi Arabia denounced the plan, as did the Palestine Liberation Organization. Joining the outcry against Hussein's scheme to deny

the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and protesting Hussein's visit to the U.S., Palestinian students in Washington, D.C., initiated a picket line at the White House on March 28. The action was called by the Organization of Arab Students and was supported by the Iranian Students Association, Eritrians for Liberation, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and members of D.C.'s Palestinian community. A rally heard statements by the participating organizations. Popular slogans on the spirited action were "Long Live the Palestinian Revolution" and "U.S. Out of Vietnam—U.S. Out of Middle East."

GAY RIGHTS ACTION: A march and rally has been called for April 15 at the state capitol in Albany, N.Y., to push for passage of a number of laws that would end legal discrimination against homosexuals, and to demand repeal of sodomy and solicitation laws. March organizer Jim Owles told *The Militant* that the action is supported by many groups, including the Gay Activists Alliance, the Gay Alliance of Brooklyn, the Mattachine Society of New York and Buffalo, Daughters of Bilitis, Gay Women's Liberation Front, Tri-Cities and Rochester GLFs and other upstate groups, as well as many campus organizations.

Buses will leave New York City at 8:30 a.m. on April 15 from Union Square North. Tickets are \$5. For further information, call the GAA Firehouse at (212) 226-8572.

ANOTHER FBI AGENT PROVOCATEUR: Last Aug. 22 a raid on draft board files took place in Camden, N.J. Twenty-eight antiwar activists, mostly of the Catholic left, were arrested on charges of conspiracy, breaking and entering, theft and destruction of government property, and interfering with the Selective Service Act.

Now it turns out that the "leadership" of the raid was provided by FBI provocateur Robert W. Hardy, who was paid \$60 a day plus expenses to organize the raid and entrap the unsuspecting activists. The FBI provided trucks, gas, tools, and food, and the necessary technical information, such as floor plans and how to deal with burglar alarms.

All of this information, and more has come to light in an affidavit by Hardy attached to a defense pretrial motion to dismiss the charges on the grounds that entrapment violates the Constitution and federal law. The defense motion states, "Without the actions, expertise and material and moral support of the FBI informer, the conspiracy would have remained abandoned and the entry into the post office building and the destruction of draft board files, which the FBI sat and watched for over two hours, would never have happened."

ATTICA LEADER SPEAKS IN MICHIGAN: On a two-day speaking tour of the Detroit area, Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica prison rebellion, raised \$500 for the Attica Defense Fund.

Clark spoke to students at Wayne State University and Eastern Michigan University; taped a program for CKLW radio; appeared on the Mother Waddles radio show, which has one of the largest Black listening audiences in Detroit; and attended a cocktail benefit sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild.

Due to conditions of parole, Clark was forced to return to New York before his scheduled appearance at the Militant Labor Forum. However, a taped presentation by Clark was heard by 85 people, including the mother of an Attica inmate critically wounded in the uprising.

CHICANO ANTIWAR GROUP IN HOUSTON: Richard Garcia reports from Houston that the Raza Contra la Guerra (Raza Against the War) committee has reached out to every sector of the Chicano community there and to several other Texas cities with large Raza populations. It has received an extremely favorable response and broad endorsement for the Chicano contingents being built for the April 8 antiwar action in Houston and the April 22 action in Los Angeles. To date the committee has distributed more than 14,000 leaflets and placed more than 600 antiwar posters throughout Houston.

ROBERTS AND DOMHOFF ON VIDEO TAPE: The Honeywell Project is a Minneapolis group pushing for the reconversion of U.S. industry from war production to a "peace oriented economy with production for human needs." In February the Project sponsored a Corporate War Crimes Investigation. Among the speakers were Dick Roberts of *The Militant* and William Domhoff, author of *Who Rules America?* The group's March 14 newsletter reports, "Hour-long video tapes of William Domhoff speaking on the ruling class and Dick Roberts talking on the economics of war are now edited and ready to be used. . . . We are asking for a rental fee of \$20 wherever we can get it."

For further information write Honeywell Project, 529 Cedar Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn. 55404.

—JOEL BRITTON

50,000 at Wash., D.C., Children's march

By JOANNA MISNIK

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25—Despite an almost total press blackout, nearly 50,000 people converged on Washington, D. C., today for the Children's March for Survival. The march was called to protest escalating government attacks on the nation's poor, particularly their effects on children.

The overwhelming majority of the demonstrators were Black, including many welfare mothers with their families, making this the largest outpouring of Black people in the nation's capital since the Poor People's Campaign in 1968.

Spearheaded by the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), the demonstration received the support of more than 60 organizations and individuals, from welfare and day-care organizations, to the Black, antiwar, and women's liberation movements.

Among the key demands of the demonstration was the defeat of HR 1, Nixon's Family Assistance Plan, now pending in the Senate. Recently adopted by the House, HR 1 would lower the already less than subsistence level of payments for nine out of 10 welfare recipients, providing only a minimum income of \$2,400 a year for a family of four.

An even more insidious aspect of HR 1 is the provision that welfare mothers with children over three years old would be forced to register for work, often at below minimum wages, or face termination of welfare payments. Children would be placed in custodial child-care centers. Pointing

to Nixon's hypocrisy in vetoing the Child Development Bill late last year, marchers demanded community-controlled child care for all children. Other demands included ending the war in Indochina and a reallocation of war spending to meet the needs of the millions of American poor.

Many of the day's activities were designed to highlight the suffering of welfare children. Thousands of youngsters were given free tests for sickle-cell anemia, lead poisoning, and malnutrition.

Many signs identified demonstrators from a host of day-care centers across the country, many of which are threatened by funding cuts. Sponsors included the Day Care and Child Development Council of America; Georgia McMurray, commissioner, Agency for Child Development for New York City; Movement for Meaningful Involvement in Day Care; and the National Parents Federation for Day Care.

It is estimated that more than one-half of the demonstrators came from Washington, D. C. This is due in large part to the building efforts of the Washington, D. C., School Board, which officially endorsed the march and used their resources to publicize the action. The entire fleet of D. C. school buses transported children from all over the city to the rally site at the Washington Monument. This action on the part of the D. C. board incurred the wrath of the White House and many congressmen, and evoked veiled threats of reprisals for this "irresponsible" involvement.

Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D. C. nonvoting delegate, responded to this attack in a statement distributed to the marchers. It declared, "The accusation by the administration that the School Board is irresponsible for endorsing the march is outrageous! It is in truth the administration which is totally irresponsible in proposing legislation which can only worsen the day to day lives of women and the poor." He further added, "The attack on the living standards and conditions of working people . . . has been and will continue to be bipartisan."

Speakers at the rally included Coretta Scott King and her daughter, Yolanda; the Reverend Ralph Aber-

nathy and his daughter Donzaleigh; Jesse Jackson of PUSH; Congressman Ron Dellums; Marjory Tabankin, president of the National Student Association; Gloria Steinem; Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers; Dr. George Wiley and Beulah Sanders of NWRO; Congresswoman Bella Abzug; Shirley MacLaine; and Richard Roundtree, star of the movie *Shaft*. Most of the speeches were in the form of greetings and were quite short.

In repeating the theme "Nixon Doesn't Care," most of the speakers failed to point out the bipartisan character of this attack on the poor, particularly the passage of HR 1 by a Democratic-controlled Congress.



Photo by Mark Satinoff

The majority of demonstrators in March 25 Children's March for Survival were Black.

N.Y. women fight abortion ban

By LaJUNE DAVIDSON

LONG ISLAND, New York—On Feb. 28 Nassau County Executive Ralph Caso announced that there were no funds to pay for abortions under Medicaid at the county Medical Center. Caso called for a ban on all but therapeutic abortions, saying it would be "unfair" for the hospital to provide abortions only to patients who could pay. The Medical Center quickly approved Caso's recommendation, and the ban went into effect the first week of March.

Women from all over Long Island held a demonstration against the ban at a March 6 meeting of the County Board of Supervisors. The Ad Hoc

Committee to Defend the Right to Abortion was formed out of this demonstration, and another action was called for March 18 at Meadowbrook Hospital.

The March 18 demonstration drew 150 activists around the demand "Open the clinic NOW!" Susan Rubenstein, interim chairwoman of the Ad Hoc Committee, told the rally, "What is at issue here is the violation of a New York State law that grants women some measure of control over their own bodies. . . ."

Participants in the Meadowbrook demonstration came from the Hofstra University Women's Center, the Northport Women's Center, Nassau

Community College, State University at Stony Brook, eight Long Island high schools, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, Nassau County National Organization for Women, Parents Aid Society, the Long Island Young Socialist Alliance, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Anti-abortion forces are trying to get the county to close other clinics and are pressuring officials to cut off the salaries of social workers in abortion referral services.

The Long Island Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the Right to Abortion is planning further actions to fight the ban. For more information, contact the committee at (516) 889-2919.

The Militant gets around...

"THE MILITANT GETS AROUND" will now be a regular feature of *The Militant*. The new column will report efforts to increase *The Militant's* circulation, such as the subscription drive last fall, which brought in more than 32,000 new readers; the campaign this spring to talk to those new readers about renewing their subscriptions; and sales of single copies at political meetings, at demonstrations and conferences, on campuses, at plant gates, and in other areas where students and working people can be reached.

In addition, the column will pass on suggestions to *Militant* supporters and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley to aid them in organizing sales.

The column will also report the response *The Militant* receives from new readers and subscribers. All *Militant* readers are invited to send in their suggestions, as well as their experiences concerning sales and discussions of *The Militant*.

LAST WEEK 99 RENEWALS came in from readers who bought introductory subscriptions to *The Militant* during last fall's subscription drive. This brings the total number of renewals to 1,109. The business office also received 76 new introductory, three new six-month, and 26 new one-year subscriptions last week.

TOP AREA: Washington, D. C., deserves special mention this week—*Militant* supporters there sent in 10 renewal, 16 introductory, and two new one-

year subscriptions. They also sold 181 *Militants* at the Children's March for Survival.

ISR RENEWALS REACH 8.5 PERCENT: The total number of renewals to the *International Socialist Review* is now 288, or more than 8.5 percent of the subscribers from last fall's drive. Within the last three weeks the ISR business office has received 79 renewal, 62 new introductory, 33 new six-month, and 35 new one-year subscriptions.

WITH LESS THAN A MONTH TO GO ON THE RENEWAL DRIVE, members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are mapping plans to visit the final group of subscribers in their areas. The renewal drive directors in Oakland and Berkeley report they are setting aside Sunday as regional renewal day because more people have time then to participate in all-day teams. Los Angeles is designating one night a week as renewal night for the duration of the drive. Lower Manhattan, N. Y., has scheduled a series of dorm blitzes to local colleges during the next two weeks.

THE NATIONAL YOUNG SOCIALISTS FOR JENNESS AND PULLEY TEAMS sent in 22 introductory subscriptions last week, along with two renewal, one new six-month, and two new one-year subscriptions. The Afro-American YSJP team signed up 70 Afro-American campaign endorsers and sold 81 single issues of *The Militant*

in a three-hour visit to the dorms of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

THE MILITANT BUILDS YSJP: We received the following letter from a new YSA member in Flagstaff, Ariz.: "Having just joined the Young Socialist Alliance as an at-large member and presently being involved in building the YSJP here in Flagstaff, I would like to begin distribution of *The Militant* in this area of Arizona. Please begin shipment of weekly bundles of 20 *Militants*." Other YSJP groups and *Militant* readers can order weekly bundles to sell. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and you will be billed once a month.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SUBSCRIPTION, a woman in Statesboro, Ga., writes, "Please enroll my name for a subscription to *The Militant*. I would enjoy receiving this newspaper. I happened to see one at a friend's house and got the address from him to order a subscription for this paper."

AND WITH A RENEWAL, a reader in Michigan writes, "I sent in a dollar recently for a trial subscription to *The Militant*—received my first copy already—your unusual promptness in starting the subscription is appreciated. Enclosed is my subscription for an additional six months. . . . I note you report the number of new and renewal subscriptions to *The Militant*. Am proud mine was one of them."

—NANCY COLE

By DERRICK MORRISON

Despite a muted discussion and bureaucratic organization, the National Black Political Convention held March 10-12 in Gary, Ind., reflected a new stage in the developing nationalist consciousness of Black people.

Up to now, the most vigorous examples of the organization of Black people as an oppressed nationality had been provided by Black students, Black GIs, Black prisoners, in some cases Black workers, and in a few cases Black women. But now even the Black Democratic politicians are reflecting the deepening discontent and nationalist sentiments of the Black community. Only a few years ago they denounced as racism in reverse all efforts at organizing Black people as a people; now they are legitimizing this concept on new levels.

From a position of trying to influence the policies of the capitalist parties—principally the Democratic Party—as individuals, they are now organizing as a group.

Impact of nationalism felt at Gary convention



Delegates at National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana.

Photo by B.R. Washington

In 1969, for instance, Black state legislators formed a national organization called the Black Legislators Association. A year ago the 13 Blacks in the House of Representatives formed the Congressional Black Caucus. Since then Black elected and appointed officials have been organizing caucuses on the local, county, and statewide level.

The ostensible purpose of these formations has been to bargain for concessions from the Democratic and Republican parties. The Congressional Black Caucus and other Black politicians saw the National Black Political Convention as a device to extract more meaningful concessions from the Democratic and Republican national conventions than they had been able to obtain in the past.

This bolder approach by the Black politicians draws its strength from two sources: the increasing number of Black elected and appointed officials and the nationalist radicalization of Black people. The first is actually a product of the second, but it deserves singling out.

In 1967, prior to the election of Richard G. Hatcher as mayor of Gary and the election of Carl B. Stokes to the same position in Cleveland, Blacks held fewer than 480 of the 522,000 public offices in the U.S. As of the spring of 1971, Blacks held 1,860 positions, nearly a four-fold increase.

The nationalist radicalization grows out of the racist oppression suffered by Black people at the hands of American capitalist society. It was sparked by the post-World War II outbreak of national liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and it issued directly from the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The urbanization of Black people, combined with the inability of American capitalism to solve the mounting problems of the cities, fuels this nationalist consciousness. According to the Feb. 11, 1971, *New York Times*, close to 9.1 million Black people occupied the central cities in 1960. The 1970 census reported an increase to nearly 12.5 million.

Black unemployment has become alarmingly high. With the official national rate for overall unemployment running around 6 percent, unemployment for Black teen-agers in "urban poverty neighborhoods" has reached the staggering figure of 45 percent.

Federal funding of antipoverty programs is

down. Cutbacks are being made in every aspect of services provided by city and state governments. Even the Ford Foundation, which has funded a number of projects in the Black community, is cutting back to the lowest level of grant-making since 1961.

Moreover, in accord with the maxim of being "last hired and first fired," many Black people hired in the late 1960s under the impact of the civil rights agitation and the ghetto rebellions are now being turned out on the streets.

The wage controls Nixon inaugurated last August come on top of the vast unemployment and government cutbacks. Combined with the rampant spread of drugs and the multitude of other problems confronting the ghetto, these factors produce a marked deterioration in the quality of Black life—which wasn't too high in the first place.

This deterioration is deepening the awareness of Black people that the racist capitalist government cannot and will not solve the problems of the Black community. This in turn pushes the Black politicians to adopt militant and nation-

alist rhetoric in order to justify their position in, and maintain Black support to, the two capitalist parties—especially the Democrats.

This new stance was expressed in the National Black Agenda, the platform adopted by the Gary convention. It was also presented in the addresses to the convention by Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity).

Hatcher and Jackson gave the only speeches to the 8,000 delegates and observers. Both of them gestured toward the next stage of the Black struggle: the organization of a Black party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

Jackson peppered his remarks with the slogan "Nation time," and went on record in support of the Black party idea. But Hatcher laid out the most cogent arguments for such a party.

Neither of them had any words of praise and support to the Democratic and Republican parties. Nor did they speak of just what gains for the struggle they expected from the conventions of the two capitalist parties. Moreover, despite the fact that both are Democrats, they made no reference to the central slogan of the party, "Defeat Nixon."

Jackson, according to the March 25 *Baltimore Afro-American*, stated, "Black non-partisanship must be the foundation of the house of Black political power." Then he stated the central purpose of the convention, "We did not gather our tribes from all over this country to come to Gary and sell out to either political party. Just our presence here has the Republicans salivating and the Democrats pumping adrenalin in greedy anticipation of our votes. If we come cheap, this political convention will have been in vain."

Hatcher recounted the history of Black political activity in the two-party system and how that system has responded to the needs of Blacks. (His remarks quoted below are from the speech as it was printed in the March 18 *People's World*, the West Coast newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party.)

"From Reconstruction to the mid-30s, we nestled in the white bosom of the Republican party—a warm home for some, perhaps; but a rocky bed for the sons and daughters of Africa. In the mid-30s, we took up residence in the hip pocket of the

Democratic party, where we lodge uneasily to this day.

"Our mythic heroes of Republican and Democratic stripe—Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy—none of them moved in our behalf without tremendous pressure. Neither major party can claim our undying loyalty because of any blessings they heaped upon us. . . .

"Only the threat of a Black march on Washington [called by A. Philip Randolph in 1941] pressured F.D.R. into ending employment discrimination in defense factories. And even with war raging, he refused to desegregate the armed forces. . . . And even our liberal friend John Kennedy stalled two years before ending discrimination in federally financed housing by a simple 'stroke of the pen.'

"What of Johnson? He bragged about the Black thirteen and a half percent of his federal work force—but he didn't tell us they were in the lowest paying jobs.

"Democrats or Republicans . . . how much difference has it really made to Black people?"

Then he said, "We are through believing. We are through hoping. We are through trusting in the two major white American political parties. Hereafter, we shall rely on the power of our own Black unity. . . .

"If we are to support any political party, the price will now run high—very high.

"First. We emphatically reject the role of advisor to the party's governing circles. . . .

"The two Richards, Nixon and Daley, as well as Mao Tse Tung, know that power is of the essence. We know that too. Anything short of our complete sharing of power is a sham and is unacceptable."

After advancing some more criteria for Black support, a call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, and an end to U.S. aid to the oppressive regimes in southern Africa, Hatcher warns, "This convention signals the end of hip pocket politics. We ain't in nobody's hip pocket no more!

"We are through with any political party, and many of us, with any political system which is not irrevocably committed to our first principles: The liberation of black people at home and the end of exploitation abroad.

"We say to the two American political parties: This is their last clear chance: They have had too many already.

"These are not idle threats. Only senile fools would think them so. . . .

"To ignore our demands is to will the consequences.

"Those of us already disenchanted with the political system could conceivably turn to fearsome tactics, shattering the quiet routine of daily life.

"Those of us still committed to a political solution may then cross the Rubicon and form a third party political movement.

"I, for one, am willing to give the two major parties one more chance in the year 1972 to redeem themselves, but if they fail us—a not unlikely prospect—we must then seriously probe the possibility of a third party movement in this country."

These threats by Hatcher and the remarks by Jackson derive their importance not only from what they may or may not be thinking as individuals, but from the fact that they represent what growing numbers of Black people are willing to consider. Hatcher and Jackson reflect the pressures from below. Hundreds of thousands of Black people are not taking for granted their support to the two capitalist parties.

The organization of all-Black caucuses and factions by the politicians and the holding of the Gary convention have made many Black people less hesitant about the idea of a Black party. For if all of this motion can go into just extracting a few more crumbs from the Democratic Party, then why can't the Rubicon be crossed and a convention called to set up a party for, by, and of Black people? This is the task of the hour.



"To ignore our demands is to will the consequences," — Gary Mayor Richard G. Hatcher

Soledad Brothers acquitted; frame-up fails

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO, March 27—"Not guilty!" As this verdict was read today, John Cluchette, Fleeta Drumgo, and their attorneys embraced. Spectators shouted and wept with joy, while the prosecutors, Ed Barnes and William Curtiss, buried their faces in their hands.

Cluchette and Drumgo, along with George Jackson, had been framed for the Jan. 16, 1970, murder of Soledad prison guard John Mills. The state viewed the case as a method of crushing the growing radicalization in the California prisons. George Jackson, an established leader of the prison movement, was their primary target.

Drumgo and Cluchette were added as padding to the state's case against Jackson. Drumgo's selection was probably based on a dusty note in his prison file that he had written in response to guard brutality. Cluchette may have been picked because his cell was near the location of Mills' death on the third tier of Soledad's "Y" wing.

George Jackson's murder by San Quentin guards two days before the trial was scheduled to open provided

the pretext to make the courthouse an armed camp. The intimidating searches administered outside the courtroom were designed to convince the all-white jury that Cluchette and Drumgo were exceedingly violent men, and to discourage spectators from viewing the state's paltry "evidence." Cluchette and Drumgo were characterized as being so dangerous that Judge Spiro Vavuris ordered them to be flown to the trial every day by helicopter, with their hands and legs shackled.

Defense attorneys Floyd Silliman and Richard Silver meticulously rebutted the state's case through detailed examination of the contradictions in the testimony. The defense revealed that three of the prosecution's witnesses were directly threatened with reprisals if they did not testify, and that other evidence had been obtained through bribery. Prosecution witness Manuel Green described his role succinctly by saying, "You give them [the prosecutors] a little something, they give you a little something."

At the conclusion, Judge Vavuris, who had functioned as a less-than-impartial referee, said peevishly that

the decision "showed that our system of jurisprudence is working." Moments later Silliman challenged this statement by pointing out that Cluchette had been held in the San Quentin Adjustment Center for two years "without an hour's exercise time even though American jurisprudence is supposed to be founded on a presumption of innocence." He added that Cluchette should be released from prison immediately because the California Adult Authority had set a date for his parole prior to his indictment for Mills' murder.

Drumgo is now facing charges with five other San Quentin prisoners stemming from the incident of Aug. 21, 1971, in which Jackson was killed. The victory of the Soledad Brothers must be carried forward to expose the frame-up of these other political prisoners.

The Soledad verdict was a reflection of the public's growing anger at the brutal conditions in California's prisons. The lack of a functioning defense committee, however, placed severe financial limitations upon the defense attorneys. It also resulted in low attendance at the trial and enabled the

prosecution to monopolize the mass media. A significant movement must now be built to free the San Quentin Six and other political prisoners.



George Jackson

Photo by LNS

Program to fight Nixon's attack on labor

Continued from page 1

The labor bureaucrats' walkout is primarily an election-year maneuver designed to embarrass Nixon and build labor support for the Democratic candidate.

Meany knows very well from his experience with the World War II pay board that the function of wage controls is to drive down the real wages of working people. He submitted a report to Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944 regarding the War Labor Board and the Office of Price Administration. In it he noted that there was a "discrepancy of 28.5 percent between the rise in living costs and the wage adjustments allowed. . . ."

Despite this acknowledgment that wage and price controls didn't control inflation, Meany not only agreed to serve on Nixon's Pay Board but even proposed that the Nixon administration adopt such controls!

Meany and the other labor officials have learned nothing from the history of government attacks on the living standards of working people. They have learned nothing from the fact that no past government wage-price controls have held down prices.

Every wage-price control program has been instituted during or after a time of war—World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and now the Vietnam war—because government war spending is the single most important cause of inflation. The only purpose of the government wage-price-control programs has been to hold down wage increases so that working people are forced to bear the brunt of this inflation.

Any government wage-control board—whether it is "tripartite," a predominantly "public" board like the one Nixon has now formed, or any other form—directly attacks the basic right of trade unions to free collective bargaining and their right to strike. Therefore, any pay board, whether under a Democratic or Republican administration, attempts to prevent working people—who are the great majority—from using their only real weapon to protect their standard of living: striking for wage increases.

The lie that wage increases are the cause of inflation is flatly contradicted by the fact that real spendable earnings declined by 1.5 percent between 1965 and 1970 during the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. Even without a Pay Board, workers were

not able to win enough wage increases to protect themselves against inflation.

Meany and the other top labor bureaucrats have gone along completely with the bipartisan charge that wage increases cause inflation and therefore must be curbed. They have also gone along with the whole push for "productivity" increases through speedup.

Meany and the other union officials walked out of the Pay Board, but they didn't propose any way out for the millions of working people still under the thumb of wage controls. The bureaucrats' only message is: we have to get rid of Nixon and elect a Democrat in November.

Wage controls imposed by a Democratic administration will be just as bad for workers' pay checks as denial of wage increases by the Nixon administration.

Democrats' record

The Democrats in Congress were hollering for wage controls long before Nixon instituted them. None of the Democratic presidential hopefuls have raised any fundamental criticisms of Nixon's economic program. At most, some have demagogically proposed that a few more concessions be granted to the unions and a few more restraints be put on prices. None of them, however, have challenged the right of the government to rip up contracts won by the trade unions or its right to launch this assault upon workers. In fact, they are for it.

What was the record of the Democratic presidential hopefuls on the bill the Senate passed Feb. 8 to force the West Coast longshoremen to accept compulsory arbitration? George McGovern voted for it, and Senators Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie abstained from the vote, refusing to support the right of the dock workers to strike for a decent wage.

The Democratic majority in Congress voted for the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, which gave Nixon the machinery with which to conduct his wage-control policy.

If a Democrat defeats Nixon in November, there will be no essential change in the policy of controlling wages. This is because the policies of the ruling class—which controls both parties—and the current forms of the contradictions of the capitalist system will both remain the same. The decline of the dollar internationally, the

increased competition on the world market, and the costs of continuing the Southeast Asian war and the entire cold war against "communism" are forcing the capitalist class to crack down on wages in order to make workers bear the cost of these problems created by this system.

The labor movement does have the power to defeat the wage controls. But Meany is not about to mobilize this tremendous power of the largest organized labor movement in the capitalist world to fight for their own interests.

Meany hastened to assure the news media that the walkout from the Pay Board does not mean that the AFL-CIO is planning to organize strikes and protests against the wage controls and the new Pay Board. He sees such a struggle as too embarrassing to the Democratic presidential candidates, who would be forced to take a stand regarding it.

Meany is doing nothing to prepare the union movement to unite in defense of its right to strike and bargain collectively.

The top union bureaucrats are not even organizing to defend the right of the West Coast longshoremen to the wage increases won in their contract but abrogated by the Pay Board. Woodcock and the AFL-CIO officials have refused to do anything to demonstrate to the longshoremen that their unions will stand behind them if they decide to strike to fight for those wage increases.

Need to fight back

The Socialist Workers Party calls for a united mobilization of the entire labor movement to answer Nixon's declaration of war against the right of workers to defend their standard of living.

First of all, we propose the convocation of a national conference of the labor movement, with delegates democratically elected by the rank-and-file trade unionists. Such a united gathering would be crucial in the event that the longshore workers decide to strike against the Pay Board's denial of their full negotiated wage increase. Solidarity action by the whole trade-union movement would be needed to counter the all-out antistrike measures Congress would be sure to take against such a strike.

A conference of the labor movement could also plan a campaign of strug-

gle on all fronts against the wage controls, inflation, and unemployment.

The Socialist Workers Party proposes the following program for an effective, united challenge to the government's antilabor policies.

- 1) Opposition to all wage controls.
- 2) Cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts and in social security payments in order to protect wage earners from inflation.
- 3) To fight unemployment, the workweek should be progressively shortened with no reduction in pay, in order to spread the available work to all those who need a job. As an immediate step, the workweek should be reduced to 30 hours.
- 4) The right to strike is an unconditional right of working people. No government interference with the right to strike or in any other affairs of the unions. All antilabor legislation, such as the Taft-Hartley Act, should be repealed.
- 5) Immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and matériel from Southeast Asia. This would eliminate one of the most important causes of the sharply increased inflation. The money spent on war should be used for schools, hospitals, and other social needs.
- 6) Labor also needs its own political instrument. The existing "political action" committees of the unions only serve to channel labor's money and votes into the Democratic Party, which is bought and bossed by big business. The SWP supports the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.

Meany opposes the idea of a labor party because he says that "if we set up our own political party, we'd be telling this country that we're ready to run the Government. I don't think we're qualified to run the Government."

The Socialist Workers Party feels that the current rulers of this country—both Democrats and Republicans—are the ones who are unfit to run the government. A party of the working people is needed to reverse the priorities of this country and to place the interests of the majority over the interests of the few who control the banks and industries.

By voting for the SWP candidates in the 1972 presidential election, working people can register their support for this program for a united struggle against the government's antilabor policies.

In Our Opinion

Hanrahan exposed

A report has finally been released—nine months after it was written—by the commission of inquiry set up to investigate the Dec. 4, 1969, killings of Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton by Chicago police. The independent commission was chaired by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, and Ramsey Clark, former U. S. attorney general. The report completely confirms what the Black community has said all along about the predawn police raid on the Panther apartment. Characterizing the police action as "slaughter and summary execution," the report states: "The indication is that the raid, contrary to its stated objectives (to obtain Panther weapons), was conceived and planned as a search and destroy mission aimed at the leaders of the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party." It says further that all evidence indicates police fired first in the raid, that the Panthers responded with only one shot, and that Fred Hampton "was shot from the doorway to his bedroom as he lay drugged and defenseless in bed."

The conclusions in the commission report make crystal clear the thoroughly corrupt and criminal nature of the entire Democratic Party-controlled city administration in Chicago.

At first Democratic officials tried the tactic of the big lie; they tried to cover the cold-blooded murder by indicting seven of the victims of the raid. When these indictments couldn't stand up and the charges were dropped, Hanrahan and 13 cops who participated in the raid were then indicted—not for murder, however, but only for obstruction of justice. The Daley machine tried to get even this mild indictment quashed, and then publicly demonstrated approval of Hanrahan's complicity in these murderous actions by renominating him as the Democratic Party candidate for state's attorney.

This nomination was withdrawn only at the last moment in the face of intense public pressure. And despite the Daley machine's formal opposition to Hanrahan's candidacy, indications are that Democratic Party ward heelers, who turned out the vote for the primary election on March 21, gave backhanded support to their favorite, Hanrahan, rather than campaigning for Daley's replacement candidate, Raymond K. Berg.

So not only has the Democratic Party city administration refused to bring Hanrahan to justice for murder, but now the party has renominated him for state's attorney, virtually assuring his reelection.

In the November elections the Democratic and Republican parties will present the voters a choice (!) between Hanrahan and Bernard Carey, another "law-and-order" man who was formerly an FBI agent.

There is an alternative for Chicago voters, however. Norman Oliver, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for state's attorney, is the only candidate who demands that Hanrahan and the cops involved in the Panther raid be immediately prosecuted for murder. Oliver's program calls for immediate provision of state and federal funds to meet the urgent social needs of the Black community and demands that these funds be placed under the control of the Black community. He calls for ending the racist war in Indochina—instead of holding down wages—to curb inflation. And he calls for the formation of an independent Black party to lead and organize the struggle against the oppression of Black people.

Cuban films banned

The disruption by Cuban exiles of the first of what was to have been a series of showings of Cuban films by the New York Film Festival, the government's confiscation of one of the films, and the denial of visas to four Cuban filmmakers invited to attend the film festival, demonstrates the viciousness of the U. S. blockade against Cuba. The incident also illustrates how the Cuba blockade involves unconstitutional censorship of the films and speakers that the American people are allowed to see and hear.

The four Cuban filmmakers were denied visas under a section of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act that permits the government to bar "aliens" because of their Marxist political views. The same law was used by the Justice Department in 1969 to deny Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel the right to come here to speak at universities. His case is now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, representing six writers, critics, and television executives, has filed a suit challenging the constitutionality of the ban on the Cubans.

The films the Treasury Department has as yet been unable to confiscate under the Trading with the Enemy Act are now scheduled to be shown by the American Film Institute Theater in Washington, D. C., next month.

After Nixon's trip to China—where the president watched Chinese ballet and other cultural presentations—it is all the more ridiculous and arbitrary for the government to continue its policy of harassment, economic and cultural blockade, and military attacks against Cuba. The U. S. government has finally seen fit to recognize the existence of the one-fourth of humanity that makes up China, but it persists in its attacks on Cuba—thereby also violating the constitutional rights of the American people to consider all political and cultural views.

Letters

American Pie

I'd like to take exception to David Salner's review of Don McLean's *American Pie* (see *The Militant*, March 17). It seems to me that this song represents all the worst in current pop music.

Salner notes that "the most striking thing about [the song] is its cunning illusiveness" (can he have meant "elusiveness?"). For too long, Western culture has valued obscure symbolism over understandability. Sometimes the threat of censorship requires this, but this doesn't seem to be the problem here.

Salner doesn't mention that the theme of the song is mourning "the day the music died." I haven't been able to figure out what McLean is talking about here, and apparently Salner couldn't either.

With Salner's help I count a dozen white male heroes that McLean refers to, including "the three *men* I admired most." The female sex is represented by the "*girl*" who sang the blues, and no nonwhite seems to be mentioned.

McLean's demoralization and inarticulateness seem to result from his obsession with the white male hero syndrome, of which he is the latest example. Rather than blindly praise the latest overrated white male rock hero, Salner would do better to call our attention to any of the many underrated and suppressed female, Black, Brown and Native-American rock artists.

Bob Geb
Boston, Mass.

Militant advertising

The Militant is one of the best sources of news and analysis I have seen; it is an excellent paper. Your tactics for selling it, however, are so blatantly capitalistic that it is difficult to believe in your sincerity.

The whole idea of offering a free book with each subscription renewal (which must be sent in quickly, so as not to miss a single issue) has a distinctly American ring to it. You may be able to convince people to call themselves socialists using typical ad-agency brainwashing techniques. But people who are "socialist" for this reason will, no doubt, follow whoever has enough money and social power and psychological knowledge to employ these tactics. A new society cannot be built with the old social structures.

Matthew Meighan
Carbondale, Ill.

In reply—There is an essential difference between *Militant* advertising and the advertising of capitalist enterprises. The promotional material for *The Militant* tells only the truth.

Far from being "capitalistic," *The Militant* will make no money whatsoever on the free book offer. We make such offers because we want to use all methods within our limited financial means to make *The Militant* known to as many people as possible.

Jail conditions

First of all I'd like to say that I really dig your paper. It's brought my head together pretty much. I would appreciate it if you could publish this letter about the prison conditions in the Globe, Ariz., jail.

The capitalistic pigs are really oppressing the Indian people in the jails there. The prison guards are all white, compared to the relatively large number of Indian inmates.

The pigs put 20 people in one

small cell (for real) with only two meals a day. They do not allow the inmates to take any showers; there is no way you can keep your body cleansed.

The cell that contains the 20 people has only one toilet with only a limited amount of toilet paper, and one small sink with only cold water.

The 20 people in this small cell do not even get a mattress and a blanket to sleep on; they have to sleep on the cold concrete floor.

Now the people in office in this town plan to start raising funds to build a new city hall, but they completely forgot about the conditions in the jail.

When they bust you in this town they do not even give you your constitutional rights, and believe it or not, they do not even provide you with a public defender. You have to go to court without any kind of defense but your own self.

You are only allowed one phone call in the jail, whether the party you want to get in touch with answers or not. You are not allowed your own choice of reading material, only what they want you to read.

Gary Yost
Allentown, Pa.

Angela Davis

I would like some information on how I can obtain some "Free Angela" buttons, sweatshirts and posters of Angela.

I had gotten a paper during a recent concert here in Los Angeles for Angela Davis.

B. L.
Los Angeles, Calif.

In reply—The address of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis is 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10011.

Bernadette Devlin

I'm writing you from the penitentiary at Walla Walla, Wash. You had an article about Bernadette Devlin—she's my idol. She is heavy and hep to what is happening with the pressure put on by the capitalistic pigs in England.

The people of Ireland, North and South, should unite and join forces with the IRA [Irish Republican Army] and run the English out of Ireland and fight for independence. First they must put down their religious differences and be able to live without killing each other because one is a Catholic or Protestant.

Democracy is a lousy system but revolution can change this. The voting system is rigged, and the two-party system isn't worth a shit.

Floyd G. Angeline
Robert D. Rose
Walla Walla, Wash.

More on Twin Oaks

As a graduate of Twin Oaks Community, I would like to point out to Marjorie Kalb [see Letters' column, March 24] that being poor does not exempt a community from the need and the hunger for money.

Twin Oaks has not escaped the consequences of life in "Amerika." It is not self-sufficient. It survives (and, unlike other less exacting communities, it *has* survived) *only* by sending its members by turn to work outside in menial jobs in the very system they think they are thumbing their collective noses at.

Twin Oaks is not a method of achieving Revolution. It is a place

The Great Society

where 40 people can go for 40 personal reasons. Some find enough of what they were looking for to stay. Most do not.

*Kenneth Nygren
Richmond, Va.*

Akwesasne Notes

Akwesasne Notes is a Native American newspaper published in upstate New York. It carries news about the struggles of Indian people all over the U.S. and Canada—and some news from Latin America too. The Late Winter issue, which the volunteer staff had hoped to bring to the printers in January, did not go to press until March—despite the fact that the paper enrolled 3,000 new subscribers in the period since its Early Winter issue came out in December.

There are two reasons for the delay. The first is harassment by the government. New York state troopers and U.S. border patrol cops expelled the editor to Canada, with red-baiting as a cover for their illegal action. The current issue reports unfounded allegations that the paper is "Communist" and "getting money from Cuba." Officials of the Mohawk Nation, to which the editor belongs, secured his return after the illegal expulsion. (Members of the Mohawk nation have the right to travel freely across the U.S.-Canada border.)

The second reason for the delay in publication of *Akwesasne Notes'* Late Winter issue is financial. There is no fixed subscription rate for the paper, but the staff reports that printing and postage currently cost about \$2,500 for one issue. Readers of *The Militant* who are interested in helping this paper stay alive, and in getting more information about the Native American struggle, can send whatever subscription price they feel is fair to *Akwesasne Notes*, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, New York 13683.

Lee Smith

New York, N.Y.

Fed up

The Equal Rights Amendment in the U.S. Senate is now under fire because it includes equal rights to gay women. [It has since been passed by the Senate without this provision—ed.] Apparently under the current socioeconomic system it is a sin to be gay—lesbian or a gay man. Our only right, apparently, is to be hassled—equally, mind you! Big Brother also wants to rule our *private* lives!

I can safely say, as a gay woman, that I speak for many gay people: We are *fed up* with hassles by cops, having to hide our sexuality. (To the reader from Washington, N.J.: [see Letters column, March 31] Just what "kind of people" are we? Gross mutilations? No!! And a society which labels us as such is sick itself.)

I hope you print more on the gay civil rights struggle. Onward to socialism!

Kay Johnson

Ann Arbor, Mich.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

They must have checked by mail—Diligent postal sleuths turned up a railroad car of mail that had disappeared en route from Philadelphia to Washington. A postal representative said discovery of the missing mail car on a Maryland siding involved use of a computer and "a two-year, car-by-car search all over the Washington area."

The blood of the lamb—Celebrating the Easter Resurrection, a New York gallery is featuring an exhibit of lamb-covered crosses by fur designer Jacques Kaplan. "Admittedly," a catalog explains, "there is something perverse in lining that timber of shame with luscious, tickling fur." They might be less jarring if they were worked into a \$ shape.

True tolerance—A member of the Thai government told reporters that despite frequent busts, hippies and other long-haired foreigners would still be permitted to enter the country. "There are many rich hippies who spend a lot of money here," he explained.

Cleaning up for Christ—Members of the First Congregational Parish Church of Brockton, Mass., went up the church wall when the Reverend James O'Brien returned from a vacation with a beard. One woman grabbed him by the beard every Sunday after services, demanding: "When are you going to cut that dirty thing off?" After six months of this, O'Brien delivered a sermon about people's tendency to judge others by their appearance. He concluded by whipping out a shaver and removing the offending growth.

Our rational society—The Senate Agriculture Committee is working on a bill providing for the slaughter of hens when egg prices dip to an unsatisfactory level. Farmers who failed to join the slaughter would be fined \$5,000 per violation.

Key heist next?—To cope with the mounting problem of jewel thefts, a Palm Beach bank offers a special safety-deposit-box service for jewelry. The rocks can be checked out the evening of an affair and on the way home, dropped off at a night-deposit box with a shotgun guard standing by. To operate the safety-deposit boxes, patrons are provided with 14-karat gold keys.

Happy as a huckster—Practically all Americans are happy, and the happiest of all are religious, middle-income, married women, aged 18-34, reports Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne. The ad agency says it asked 402 people how happy they were, and only ten percent admitted being "not too happy." "Where," inquire the sur-

veyors, "are the alienated, anomic, sick, guilty, the people at the breaking point?" We don't know. Maybe they're confined at BBD&O.

Antipolluters at work—The Food and Drug Administration has approved a chemical process to reduce the solid wastes created in the production of tomato paste, catsup, etc. This is achieved by adding hydrochloric acid to crushed tomatoes. The chemical also increases the acid content of the tomatoes, but this is corrected by adding another chemical, sodium hydroxide. If it's still a bit flat, try a dash of arsenic.



"Why is it that everything I like doing causes tumors in mice?"

© PUNCH

Rumor dep't—Did the Nixon-IT&T deal really include six months' free telephone service for Martha Mitchell?
— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

MORE AND MORE WOMEN SUPPORT THE GOALS OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT—A Louis Harris poll released March 23 reports that 48 percent of the 3,000 women surveyed favor "efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society," while 36 percent oppose such efforts. In a Harris poll last year, women disagreed with efforts to change their status by 42 to 40 percent.

Harris' new poll also shows the desire among women for equal participation in politics. Seventy-four percent of those surveyed, says the March 24 *New York Times*, think that women can be "just as logical and rational" as a man in office. By 51 to 39 percent, women feel they are discriminated against in high government posts. A woman could become president within 10 years in the opinion of 37 percent.

These statistics show the impact of the struggles organized by the women's liberation movement around such issues as the abortion laws, job discrimination, and child-care centers. Many women, however, are still confused about the aims of the feminist movement. By 49 to 36 percent, Harris found women unsympathetic to the "efforts of women's liberation groups." This contradiction points out the need to continue education and action campaigns around the specific issues of women's oppression in order to demonstrate to masses of women that the feminist movement is fighting in their interests.

U.S. SUPREME COURT SUPPORTS RIGHT OF SINGLE PERSONS TO CONTRACEPTIVES—In a March 22 decision the U.S. Supreme Court stated that "it is the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted government intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child." The ruling makes it unlawful for any state to prohibit the distribution of contraceptives to single persons if contraceptives are available to married people. The case stems from an appeal by the state of Massachusetts to uphold its 93-year-old law against giving contraceptives to unmarried people. Massachusetts appealed to the Supreme Court after a federal court of appeals overturned the 1967 conviction of William Baird, a well-known birth-control advocate.

The ruling represents a victory for women and establishes an important precedent for striking down other contraceptive laws, such as those restricting the right of young people to obtain birth-control devices. The language of the Supreme Court's decision, with its emphasis on "the right of the individual," also has obvious implications

for challenges to the constitutionality of state laws against abortion.

UNIONS FIGHT FOR WORKING WOMEN'S RIGHTS—The American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), the largest union of civil service workers, is demanding free abortions, free birth-control devices, and birth-control information in contract negotiations with the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Writing in the Dec. 20 Washington, D.C. *Evening Star*, Joseph Young pointed out that "If the AFGE should win its points with OEO, it could set a pattern for similar negotiations. . . . These are the first such proposals ever made by government employee unions under the federal government's labor-management collective bargaining program."

The International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) is suing General Electric for denying disability payment to women who take pregnancy leaves. The union points out that GE grants benefits to male workers for absence due to sickness and accidents. The suit charges that GE is violating the 1964 Civil Rights Act provisions against sex discrimination.

CAMBRIDGE RESIDENTS DEMAND IMPLEMENTATION OF CHILD-CARE REFERENDUM—On Nov. 2, 1971, 54 percent of Cambridge, Mass., voters supported a referendum to make free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care available to all children in the city. Now the Cambridge Child Care Coalition is demanding that the city council carry out the decision of Cambridge voters. Members of the coalition presented a proposal to the city council March 6 for \$40,000. The money would hire a staff to begin the organization of funding for child-care centers and drawing the community into decision-making on how the centers should operate.

The city council tabled this motion. According to the March 13 *Female Liberation Newsletter*: "The major debate concerned whether the city council should allocate money now or whether it should wait to see who all wants to be involved in implementing child care and to get the Coalition to make further efforts to consult professional people. Many people spoke for community control, and it was pointed out that professional and community people are already working on the Coalition and that for further work to be done, money was needed."

The Cambridge Child Care Coalition will press for adoption of its proposal at future meetings of the city council.

— CINDY JAQUITH

Equal rights passage represents victory

By CINDY JAQUITH

The Senate galleries broke out in cheers on March 22 as women applauded the announcement of the final vote approving passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Congressional passage of the bill came after a 49-year fight by women to win the constitutional amendment. The ERA states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Thirty-eight state legislatures must ratify the ERA before it becomes part of the Constitution. At least six states have already done so. The ratification process will be lengthy, however, since only 26 legislatures are currently in session. Following state ratification, amendments do not go into effect for two years.

The major significance of this amendment, if ratified, will be that for the first time in U.S. history the Constitution will clearly state the right of women to equal treatment under the law. This victory can be attributed to the growth of the women's liberation movement in recent years and to the changing consciousness of women in general.

The ERA's implications for wiping out discriminatory practices against women can be far-reaching. The amendment invalidates many laws, such as those withholding unemployment compensation or disability payments to working women who take

very existence of this amendment, however, puts the law on the side of women's fights against their second-class status.

Controversy over the ERA has divided both the women's movement and the trade-union movement. The Communist Party and some AFL-CIO officials have voiced opposition to the ERA on the basis that if women are guaranteed equal rights in the Constitution, this will nullify existing state laws protecting women workers. These laws provide for special treatment of women workers, such as maximum working hours and weight-lifting limitations. Many of them were won by struggles of women workers in the early part of this century. Some of the laws benefit women and should be extended to men.

As they now stand, however, these laws are inadequate in meeting the needs of working women. Some, in fact, are even used to exclude women from higher-paying job categories.

Supporters of the ERA have pointed out that the constitutional assertion of equality for women should help lay the basis for the extension of protective laws that benefit women to male workers. The ERA can be an impetus in inspiring working women to fight for their rights on the job, and such struggles can affect the entire labor movement.

Another argument raised by the Communist Party is that passage of



Photo by Howard Patrick

Such actions as the Aug. 26, 1970, women's liberation demonstration in New York helped create the climate in which Congress felt forced to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

pregnancy leaves, legal exemption of women with children from jury duty, divorce laws discriminating against men or women concerning child custody or payment of alimony, and many other statutes. Discriminatory practices affecting workers in state and federal government and admissions standards or curriculum limitations that discriminate against women in tax-supported schools and colleges will also become illegal.

Furthermore, the ERA will strengthen the challenges growing numbers of women are waging against discriminatory practices that are not due to laws or government action, such as employment discrimination by private corporations.

Women cannot expect, however, that the capitalist government will voluntarily enforce the ERA. As Blacks have seen since passage of civil rights legislation, actual implementation of these rights has not been automatic. Women also will have to engage in struggles to win enforcement of the rights recognized by the ERA. The

the ERA means subjecting women to the draft. Interestingly enough, Dixiecrat Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) tried to use this same argument to block passage of the ERA. He submitted an amendment to exempt women from the draft, which was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 73 to 18. In defending his amendment, Ervin expounded on the dangers of "drafting the daughters of America and sending them into battle, where their fair forms would be blasted into fragments by the bombs and shells of the enemy."

Supporters of the ERA have explained that women are just as capable as men of participating in military or any other form of political activity. Moreover, by supporting the ERA, women are not saying that they support the draft. Certainly as many women as men are opposed to the draft and its use to carry out the brutal war in Southeast Asia. Now that women may become eligible for the draft, they will undoubtedly swell the ranks of those protesting conscription.

Fourth Internat'l hails May 6 actions

The following statement was released March 6 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in response to the appeal for international support from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States.

In a growing number of countries around the world, a historically unprecedented political ferment and radicalization is developing among women. Young women especially—students, working women, housewives—are beginning to challenge some of the most fundamental aspects of their oppression as women. Not only are they beginning to question, but they are beginning to act as well.

Women are beginning to reject the role of domestic slaves to which class society has bound them for centuries, and they are beginning to challenge the myriad forms that the centuries-old oppression of women takes under capitalism today. Women are demanding the right to equal jobs, pay, and education. They are demanding that society as a whole, not the individual family unit, take responsibility for the care of the young, the old, the sick. They are demanding the right to choose rather than have motherhood forced upon them because safe contraception and abortion facilities are outlawed by reactionary legislation and bourgeois mores. Such demands taken as a whole go to the very heart of the oppression of women and challenge the fundamental institutions of class society.

It is in this context that the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States has launched a campaign under the banner "Abortion—A Woman's Right to Choose," and is attempting to mobilize masses of women in extraparlimentary action to win this basic right.

In response to an appeal for international support to this campaign, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International expresses its solidarity with the week of actions and the May 6 mass demonstrations sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

Socialists call for internat'l antiwar actions

The following statement was released March 10 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. It is in response to an appeal from the National Peace Action Coalition in the United States, urging that April 22 be made a day of international action against U.S. aggression in Indochina.

The Vietnamese revolution is passing through a crucial period.

Faced with a presidential election in November of 1972, the Nixon administration is engaged in a massive diplomatic offensive to try to isolate the Vietnamese revolution and to convince the American people that everything possible is being done to end direct U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war. To this end, Nixon's "eight-point program" was announced at the end of January. It was revealed that secret negotiations had taken place between presidential adviser Henry Kissinger and the revolutionary forces in Vietnam. And one of the central goals of Nixon's voyage to Peking was to win public support for the administration's Southeast Asia policies.

While massive opposition to the war in the United States has forced the government to cut back on the use of American ground troops in the Indochina fighting, the Nixon administration is stepping up the war effort in every other respect. Bombing raids have been amongst the most massive ever, and unprecedented military aid to the Saigon regime is planned for the coming year.

In other words, Nixon is trying to pacify worldwide opposition to U.S. imperialist policies as he "Vietnamizes" and prolongs the war. He is attempting to buy time, with the American people especially, to convince them that the war is inevitably "winding down." He is hoping to reduce the ever mounting pressure for withdrawal of all American troops, bases, and logistic supplies from Indochina. He still hopes to "end" the war by "winning" it.

The American rulers have at the same time taken the offensive in a diplomatic maneuver with the Stalinist bureaucracies in Peking and Moscow, trying to arrange a "peaceful coexistence" deal in order to pressure the Vietnamese people into accepting less than the victory for which they have fought so long and courageously.

Thus, the goal of world imperialism remains the same as it has always been—to prevent, by any means necessary, the extension of the socialist revolution in Southeast Asia.

The combined diplomatic and military offensive being waged by U.S. imperialism poses more sharply than ever the responsibility of the international antiwar movement. Every effort must be made to mobilize massive actions in support of the Indochinese peoples' unconditional right to self-determination.

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) in the United States has announced plans for massive demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles on April 22, demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. The Front Solidarité Indochine (FSI) in France has called for a week of actions, culminating in mass demonstrations on April 22, in solidarity with the Indochinese revolution. Simultaneous actions in other countries are already being planned.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls on all those forces throughout the world who oppose U.S. aggression in Indochina to join the American, French, and other antiwar forces in mobilizing broad, united mass-actions on April 22.

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, bases, and matériel from Indochina—OUT NOW!

End the bombing now!
Not a penny, not a gun for U.S. imperialism's war effort!

Solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese masses!
Victory to the Vietnamese revolution!

ITT in Chile: U.S. imperialism at work

By DICK ROBERTS

The following statement from an unshredded clipping presently in the files of *The Militant* reveals the attitudes of leading sectors of U.S. imperialism toward the Sept. 4, 1970, election of Salvador Allende to the presidency of Chile. It is an open invitation to the Chilean army to overthrow Allende, and it provides the army with a pretext for such a coup. It states:

"If Dr. Allende in office tried to withdraw from his commitment—by purging the judiciary, politicizing the schools or canceling elections—Chile's armed forces then would have a legitimate excuse for intervening in defense of the Constitution."

This statement appears in an editorial from the Sept. 19, 1970, issue of the *New York Times*. At that time, the *New York Times* spoke for the virtually unanimous opinion of Yankee imperialism that Allende's regime threatened U.S. investment in Chile.

It is necessary to recall this matter to place in context syndicated columnist Jack Anderson's revelations about International Telephone and Telegraph's (ITT) drive to sabotage the Allende election. Anderson, the Democratic Party leaders Anderson is troubleshooting for, and liberal capitalist voices like the *Times* piously pretend that ITT's activities and its relationship with the Nixon administration are exceptional.

In a March 26, 1972, editorial the *Times* castigates any who would intervene in Chilean affairs. If Anderson's memos are authentic, the *Times* states, "they furnish a classic example of how a giant international corporation should never behave, particularly in a democratic country with every right to work out its political destiny without outside interference."

In his March 28 column, Jack Anderson pinpoints the cooperation between the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and ITT director John McCone, former head of the CIA. Anderson states, "These corporate rulers, working through McCone's inside contacts, were able to enlist the CIA in an abortive plot to block Allende's election and, thus, interfere in Chile's free election process. This illustrates the incestuous relationship that has grown up between ITT and the Nixon administration."

Anderson's remark illustrates what the attack on

ITT is all about. It is a repeat of the old electoral game whereby the Republican Party is held up as the party of Big Business, and Democratic Party hacks parade as leaders of reform and justice.

The pundits conveniently forget that the Democratic Party and previous Democratic administrations are no less tied to the capitalists than the Republicans. McCone himself was the CIA head under Kennedy and Johnson. He came in after the Kennedy administration's fiasco of the Bay of Pigs in 1961—a CIA military action designed to overthrow the revolutionary government of Cuba. McCone presided over the CIA as Johnson ordered 24,000 U.S. Marines to crush the rebellion in Santo Domingo in 1965.

And ITT is no stranger to the Democratic Party. Like every big corporation it does business with the party in power and it supports both parties during the elections. A 1960 scandal pointed the finger the other direction. At that time J. T. Naylor, an ITT vice-president, stated in a sworn affidavit that he was enlisted "to 'butter' both sides so we'll be in a good position whoever wins."

Naylor also told how he had been instructed to "make out your check in favor of the 'Texas Business and Professional Men's Committee for Johnson for Vice President.'" Naylor stated that ITT head Harold Geneen later told him that this was "paying off big in Washington." (*America, Inc.* by Morton Mintz and Jerry S. Cohen, pp. 164-165.)

Geneen himself reported to the Senate Judiciary Committee investigating the ITT affair on March 13 that he had held discussions on ITT matters with more than a score of high government officials, Democrat and Republican alike. ITT's spectacular growth from asset value 12 years ago of \$811-million to more than \$7-billion today took place as much during Democratic as Republican administrations.

In fact, the new ITT scandal is mushrooming far beyond what Anderson and his backers probably first intended. No longer simply an embarrassment to Nixon, it has exposed the typical activities of the multinational giants that dominate the U.S. economy. These corporations take part in financing the capitalist parties, they have easy

access to the government in Washington at all key levels of decision-making, and they help to instigate the counterrevolutionary policies Washington carries out across the globe. Corporate spokesmen and capitalist politicians routinely lie day in and day out about their actual activities.

On March 21 Anderson revealed an ITT memorandum describing its plan to sabotage the Chilean economy after Allende's successful election. It stated, in part:

"1. Banks should not renew credit or should delay in doing so.

"2. Companies should drag their feet in sending money, making deliveries, in shipping spare parts, etc.

"3. Savings and loan companies there are in trouble. If pressure were applied, they would have to shut their doors, thereby creating pressure.

"4. We should withdraw all technical help and should not promise any technical assistance in the future. Companies in a position to do so should close their doors."

Anderson pretends that this plan was rejected by the other—and far more powerful—sectors of monopoly rule like General Motors and Ford. In reality this is precisely the road that U.S. imperialism has followed in its attempt to sabotage the Chilean economy. Insisting on one side on the repayment of debts that drains Chile of desperately needed foreign reserves, the imperialists on the other side have slashed investments in Chile and driven down the prices of Chilean raw materials on the world market. The plan wasn't dreamed up by ITT. It is the age-old imperialist policy of financial strangulation, one of the main agencies of which is the World Bank, presently presided over by former Democratic Party Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (who was chief of the Ford corporation before that).

The *New York Times* ends its March 26 editorial with an appeal to congressional investigators of ITT. "The inquiry to be conducted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee . . . should aim at assuring Americans that special interests will not be allowed to meddle secretly in this nation's relations with other countries." Demagogic assurances from Democratic liberals are one thing; facts are something else again.

The National Picket Line

DEATH IS THE CONSTANT COMPANION of the men who go down into the earth to dig coal—sudden death or lifetime injury from explosions, fires, cave-ins, and black lung. But it lurks almost as close to them and their wives and children above ground as well.

In early March the rain- and snow-swollen Buffalo Creek, artificially dammed up, broke the mine-waste bank that lay across it at the head of a mine operated by the Pittstown Mining Company. A raging torrent of water raced down the narrow valley, bringing death to 117 persons (at last count) and probable death to another 150 still missing. Four small towns were completely destroyed, four others so ravaged that they are completely uninhabitable.

The company claims the flood was "an act of God." A spokesman for the corporation explained "God made the pond incapable of holding all that rainwater."

The refuse bank damming Buffalo Creek rose several hundred feet in the air. It spanned the normally rapid stream, acting as a dam and creating five lakes, although it had none of the engineering features of a normal dam. It had no spillway or seepage vents to keep the millions of tons imprisoned water from breaking through and plunging in a great wall down the gulch-like valley where 4,500 people lived.

"This will happen again," Governor Arch A. Moore of West Virginia predicted afterward. A helicopter inspection he made of the area revealed 27 similar waste banks. All were situated over creeks and rivers and are considered as potentially dangerous as the Buffalo Creek "dam" that wreaked such havoc. Governor Moore ordered the immediate removal of 14 of the spoils banks he discovered.

It has also been disclosed that in 1967 a United States Geological Survey team investigated the impounded water and "Amateur" dams built over most of the creeks and small streams in this highland country. None of the dams surveyed were considered safe. All were merely waste piles dumped wherever it was cheapest and easiest.



Unidentified body of a small girl is taken from wreckage of West Virginia coal field disaster.

The U.S. survey report was sent to hundreds of officials in the coal states. It was then cozily filed in the office of the secretary of the interior. The Department of the Interior claims it has no congressional authority to force the coal barons to stop dumping spoilage anywhere they want to. Nor has it sought such authority, despite the survey report.

West Virginia, however, does have such a law. Passed in 1915 but never enforced, this state law forbids building any obstruction higher than 15 feet across any stream unless such a structure has state approval for its design and location. The *Charlestown Gazette* reported that "Few coal companies have ever felt compelled to comply."

Whoever gets the blame for the Buffalo Creek disaster—God or Mammon, as a West Virginia editor put it—the Pittstown Mining Company (parent of the Buffalo Creek Mining Company) has a powerful ally on its side. One of its directors, Thruston B. Morton, former senator from Kentucky and former Republican national chairman, is the brother of the current secretary of the interior, the government official under whom the Bureau of Mines functions.

The editor quoted above concludes in his editorial: "coal as usual will come out of this as good as gold because God, after all, cannot be reached for comment."

—MARVEL SCHOLL

NPAC calls for unity on April 22

The following open letter to the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice from the National Peace Action Coalition was distributed to the PCPJ's national coordinating committee, which met in Washington, D.C., March 25-26. That meeting reaffirmed PCPJ's position of not making a national effort to build antiwar actions on April 22.

On April 22, there will be national antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). We urge the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and all of its affiliated and cooperating organizations to endorse and help build these antiwar actions on a national scale.

At the February 11-13 World Peace Assembly in Versailles, France, a call was adopted for a six-week period of international solidarity with American antiwar activities. The resolution pointed to the need for united international action in defense of Indochina. Among the dates specified and unanimously endorsed by the Assembly was April 22, 1972.

At this point it is clear that there

ican communities; presidential candidates; and many others. The broad range of endorsement indicates the potential that April 22 has to educate the American public on the importance of maintaining an independent mass movement during an election year and in the face of Nixon's "winding down the war" rhetoric.

The April 22 demonstrations will take place during an intensive propaganda campaign designed to bury the war as an issue. Mass, visible demonstrations can direct attention to the continuation and extension of the war, keep the issue before the public, and notify all the candidates for office that no matter who gets elected, the antiwar movement is not going to demobilize until the last troop and the last bomber is brought home.

So far, the PCPJ has refused to endorse the April 22 action, despite the fact that PCPJ representatives supported the Versailles resolution and calendar, which included April 22.

A recent PCPJ mailing stated that the Interim Committee of March 13 made the following decision. "We reaffirmed the consensus of the January Coordinating Committee meeting not

a weakening of a united antiwar effort on April 22 if not corrected. Since December, antiwar forces in San Francisco have been working to build participation from that city in the L.A. demonstration. Recently, an organization called the Bay Area April 22 Coalition has been formed in San Francisco. It has issued a call for a demonstration in San Francisco on April 22, against U.S. foreign expansion, Nixon's policy of economic, political, and racial repression, and in support of the seven-point program of the PRG. Because this demonstration has been called for the same day as the national demonstration occurring in L.A. it cuts across attempts to build maximum participation from San Francisco and constitutes a splitting action. The local PCPJ affiliate in San Francisco has endorsed and is building the San Francisco demonstration for April 22.

'National mass actions'

We wish to emphasize that the action resolution passed in Versailles and supported by PCPJ representatives explicitly stated "national mass actions" in New York and Los Angeles and made no mention of San Francisco or any other city.

We appeal in the interest of unity that this unfortunate situation be corrected. PCPJ, as NPAC has done, should urge the Committee for the Seven Points to change the date of their demonstration and get behind the L.A. demonstration.

One argument that has been advanced to explain PCPJ's refusal to endorse April 22 is that NPAC limits its demands to ending the war, which is only one of PCPJ's several demands. The difference in approach between the two coalitions—the so-called single issue vs. multi-issue difference—should not be a barrier to unity on a specific antiwar demonstration. PCPJ can build the demonstration on the basis of its own demands. Furthermore, to endorse one particular demonstration focused on the war does not prevent PCPJ from endorsing and building other demonstrations on other issues at other times.

Another reason cited for PCPJ's refusal to unite with NPAC in the April 22 action is that PCPJ cannot work with an organization which does not demand "Support the PRG Seven-Point Program." NPAC does not raise that slogan.

The Vietnamese have emphasized their respect for NPAC's demand "Out Now!" The demand expresses precisely what they want: For the U.S. to get its military forces out of Southeast Asia NOW. NPAC recognizes that the Seven-Point Plan is the PRG's negotiating position in Paris. The PRG recognizes that the demand for "Out Now!" has moved millions of Americans into the fight to end the war.

The Vietnamese have repeatedly urged the U.S. antiwar movement to unite. There is no justifiable reason why we do not do so this spring, at least in support of the actions that have been called.

A continued, fraternal debate on all differences between the two coalitions can only serve to clarify the issues. If conducted in a serious and friendly way, such a debate can be very productive. BUT THE DIFFERENCES WE HAVE CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO STAND IN THE WAY OF UNITED ANTIWAR ACTION.

All groups can build the spring actions under their own slogans and demands. Speakers can reflect the different viewpoints from the stage. But we can agree on a common slogan for the demonstrations, such as we did on November 6 with the slogan "Stop the Bombing—U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!"

We have been able to work together before despite our differences. The

Continued on page 22

Week of protests begins in Harrisburg

By LEE SMITH

MARCH 27—Some 600 persons joined a march on the Pennsylvania capitol yesterday in the first of a week-long series of protests culminating in a mass antiwar rally April 1. The actions have been organized in Harrisburg, the site of the frame-up trial of Father Philip Berrigan and six other antiwar activists, to link solidarity with the defendants to opposition to the Indochina war.

On March 24, in a move that surprised both their supporters and the government, the seven frame-up victims rested their defense without presenting a case. The move, which came directly on the heels of the prosecution's presentation, was announced after Judge R. Herman Dixon denied two defense motions. One would have granted immunity to defense witnesses who testified about acts of civil disobedience; the other would have provided for a hearing before the jury of defense charges that the seven were singled out by the government for discriminatory prosecution.

The defendants decided by a 4-to-3 vote to rest their case if these motions were denied. The dissenting votes were cast by Father Berrigan, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, and Eqbal Ahmad. Ahmad read a statement from Berrigan at a news conference after the courtroom announcement in which the antiwar priest said he had consented to the majority's will only after he had "disagreed . . . as humanly and as strenuously as I could." He said he "felt we ought to face squarely the violent absurdity of this indictment (insofar as we could in this suffocating court): that we ought to submit to the requirements of truth, even toward the Nixon administration; that we owed people an explanation of our lives and resistance."

The government's case, aimed at proving the defendants had "plotted" to kidnap presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger and bomb Washington, D.C., heating tunnels, as well as raid draft boards, consisted mainly of testimony from Boyd F. Douglas Jr. Douglas's credibility was undermined by the fact he had acted as an FBI agent-provocateur in his relations with Berrigan and the others.

Final summaries by the prosecution and the defense were scheduled to begin today, and the case was expected to go to the jury by March 29.

Among the actions scheduled outside the court in Harrisburg this week is a "funeral procession" march to the New Cumberland Army Depot on March 31. The depot is a maintenance base for helicopters used in U.S. aggression against Indochina. On the following day, April 1, thousands are expected to take part in a demonstration that has support from all sections of the antiwar movement. The April 1 action, called by the Harrisburg Defense Committee, is being built by the National Peace Action Coalition, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and other groups.



Photo by Brian Shannon

United action between NPAC and PCPJ helped make the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstrations the largest ever held.

will be two major days of demonstrations for the U.S. antiwar movement this spring. The first of these is the April 1 demonstration at Harrisburg [Pa.] in support of the Harrisburg defendants. PCPJ has stated that this is its major focus for the spring.

NPAC endorses the April 1 action and has helped to build it. We have urged all the groups affiliated with us to do the same. The entire antiwar movement must unite against this frame-up. The attempt to silence the Harrisburg opponents of the war must be fought by the broadest coalition of forces. We will meet together in Harrisburg on April 1 to demonstrate our determination to defend the Harrisburg Eight and all other antiwar leaders the government attempts to intimidate and silence.

The second major date for the U.S. peace movement is the April 22 action called by NPAC. The New York and Los Angeles marches on April 22 will be mass demonstrations of united, visible opposition to the war at a time when the need for such action is greater than ever. Already solidarity actions are planned in Scotland, England, France, Luxembourg, Belgium, Ireland, Canada, Switzerland, New Zealand and Lebanon. Thus, the April 22 date can have a truly international impact.

In the United States, there is an impressive breadth of support for April 22. The demonstrations scheduled for that date have been endorsed by SMC [Student Mobilization Committee]; Youth for McGovern, Muskie, Lindsay and Chisholm groups; trade unionists; feminist leaders; leaders of the Black, Chicano and Asian-Amer-

to endorse the National Peace Action Coalition's demonstrations on April 22. But we decided to list them in our calendar and to encourage our people in New York City and Los Angeles to participate with multi-issue slogans and support of the Seven Points."

While this position is an improvement from PCPJ's previous position of categorical abstention from participating in April 22, it does not recognize the national scope of the actions in N.Y. and L.A. nor call for a commitment to build April 22. The original call for April 22 was issued at an open national antiwar conference attended by 1,400 representatives from all over the country, held in December 1971. It projected an outpouring from all over the country to the two cities of N.Y. and L.A. April 22 was included in the Versailles calendar as a national demonstration.

What accounts for PCPJ's unwillingness to endorse and significantly build a mass national demonstration calling for an end to the bombing of the Indochinese and immediate withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Southeast Asia? Although PCPJ has previously stated its belief that a unified antiwar coalition is impossible at this time, this should not prevent PCPJ from giving its national endorsement and building April 22 with its own apparatus and demands all over the country.

PCPJ's unwillingness to endorse and build April 22 as a national demonstration has led to a very serious situation for the antiwar movement in San Francisco that will lead to

Boston U students to strike

By JEANNETTE TRACY

BOSTON, March 29—A general student strike has been called for April 5 at Boston University as massive protests rock the campus. The strike has been called in response to a March 27 police attack on a peaceful demonstration protesting the presence of Marine recruiters on the BU campus.

Military recruiters had not been allowed on the BU campus for two years—since the May 1970 student strike when students forced the administration to end ROTC and military recruiting on the campus. BU President John Silber attempted to roll back those gains by inviting Marine recruiters on the campus March 27.

The demonstration protesting the recruiters was attacked and broken up by police called in at Silber's request. Thirty-three people who sat down in protest were arrested.

On March 28 more than 2,500 students voted in a mass meeting to raise the following demands: 1) no recruiters on campus; 2) no cops on campus; and 3) drop all charges against those arrested.

When Silber addressed the meeting he made it quite clear that he was not going to accede to any demands raised by the students. At that point a vote was taken to go on strike April 5. A motion was also passed to de-

mand the resignation of President Silber.

Another mass meeting has been called for today to decide on the exact nature and character of the strike.

French antiwar week planned

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) has sent Dan Rosenshine to Europe to speak to antiwar groups and meetings there, and to encourage solidarity demonstrations with the April 22 national demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles. The following is the first in a series of reports Rosenshine is sending to the NPAC office in New York. The reports are being released to antiwar and radical publications in the United States.

PARIS, March 21—The French Indochina Solidarity Front (Front Solidarité Indochine—FSI) has scheduled nationwide actions against the U.S. war in Indochina for the week of April 15-22 and has called for the cooperation of all French antiwar forces.

Among the activities planned for the "week of action in solidarity with the peoples of Indochina" are a national day of high school antiwar protests on April 19, demonstrations against American war-producing firms, antiwar exhibits by well-known photographers and artists, and a panel dis-

cussion by leading French news analysts on the current state of the Indochina war.

The week of action will culminate in massive street demonstrations throughout France on Saturday, April 22. The largest demonstration is expected in Paris; however, actions have also been set for 70 other cities. FSI committees in the provinces of France have been especially active in the recent period, holding frequent and sizable mass meetings.

As part of its regular educational activity, the FSI publishes a monthly newspaper, *Indochina Solidarity*, which is distributed in the tens of thousands at high schools, universities, and factories.

A special educational project has recently been launched by the FSI to expose the production of American war-matériel in France. This includes U.S. army detection devices and electronic parts for the giant computers that direct the U.S. air war over Indochina.

One of the objectives of this project (called the "Honeywell project") is to involve workers in these factories in the antiwar movement. Fifteen local trade unions based in American war-producing firms have recently selected delegates to the FSI because of this activity.

The FSI includes pacifist and Marxist groups, student and trade-union activists, and a number of prominent French intellectuals. The coalition's largest effort to date was the Nov. 6, 1971, actions, which drew 30,000 people throughout France.

The FSI has recently been confronted with a tactical problem that could affect the timing of the mass

demonstrations now scheduled for April 22. On March 17, French Premier Georges Pompidou announced that a national referendum on British entry into the Common Market will be held April 23.

All political demonstrations during the two days preceding national elections are banned by law in France. The forces in the FSI coalition are now discussing whether the major mass demonstrations will have to be rescheduled for another day in order to get the largest and broadest turnout. This decision will be made quickly so that publicity and preparations can continue.

Meanwhile, the FSI has called upon all antiwar forces in Europe to mount united and massive antiwar actions during the week of April 15-22.



Photo from Rouge

Feb. 13 antiwar demonstration in Marseilles, France.

April 22 countdown

Support for the Raza contingent that will lead the April 22 antiwar march in Los Angeles is growing rapidly. Signers of a leaflet now circulating in L.A. urging Raza support for the spring actions include: Corky Gonzales, chairman of the Denver Crusade for Justice; Julia Mount of the L.A. Peace and Freedom Party; Celia Luna de Rodríguez of the Barrio Defense Committee; and Bert Corona, a leader of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Autonomous Social Action Center).

CASA, L.A.'s largest Chicano organization and a prime mover in the struggle against the deportation of undocumented Raza workers, has indicated that it will help publicize the April 22 action in the Chicano community. The leaflet mentioned was drawn up by people from CASA and the April 22 Chicano contingent.

In Houston, the Raza Contra la Guerra (Raza Against the War) Committee is working on a local demonstration on April 8 as well as the April 22 action.

More than 120 people attended the March 23 meeting of the April 22 West-NPAC coalition in Los Angeles. Fred Halstead, chief marshal for the April 24, 1971, demonstration in Washington, D.C. was designated head monitor for the April 22 action in L.A. Permits have been obtained for the march route and assembly area.

Almost 100 endorsers have been gathered for the Asian contingent, which is being organized throughout the western states by Asian-Americans for Peace. Other contingents are also being built.

GIs and veterans have formed an April 22 Brigade and are planning to conduct a three-day march along the 80-mile beach from Santa Barbara to Santa Monica on Easter weekend. The expected 30 participants in the march will hold rallies and distribute antiwar literature along the way.

With the final buildup for the L.A. demonstration still ahead, publicity is off to a good start. In the L.A. area alone, 100,000 leaflets have been distributed. A March 29 news conference featured youth coordinators from the Muskie, McGovern, Lindsay, McCarthy, Chisholm, and Jenness campaigns, along with an SMC representative.

A two-hour Associated Press interview with Carol Feraci, the singer who unfurled an antiwar banner at a White House performance, was the latest in a series of local news breakthroughs. Feraci, along with comedian Tom Smothers, plans to host an April 22 West fund-raising party at her home.

Austin, Texas, saw some 500 people participate in a demonstration on March 18. The antiwar protesters marched from the University of Texas campus to the Texas State Capitol. Included in the demonstration were GIs from Bergstrom Air Force Base, Fort Hood, and Fort Sam Houston, as well as members of striking Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1549.

Picket lines, news conferences, and other activities condemning Nixon's hypocritical use of the POW issue have taken place in New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, New Haven, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. Called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), they have focused on the fact that it is Nixon's continuation of the war that is resulting in more POWs, and that the way to bring the POWs home is by withdrawing all U.S. troops from Indochina immediately.

More than 100 people participated in a picket line at the White House organized by the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition on March 26.

The New Haven Peace Action Coalition is planning an Easter Peace Program for Easter Sunday. There

will be a report on the April 1 demonstration at Harrisburg, Pa., a slide show on the air war, and a Japanese documentary on the bombing of Hiroshima.

Representative Richard Ichord, the Missouri Democrat who heads the witch-hunting House Internal Security Subcommittee, took note of the spring antiwar offensive in Congress, according to the March 13 Congressional



GIs in Austin, Texas, antiwar action March 18

Photo by Howard Petrick

Record. After alerting his colleagues to the imminent antiwar actions, Ichord expressed his heartfelt and fervent hope "that the demonstrations will not attract the same number of sincere Americans this year (as last year). . . ."

The National Association of Social Workers has endorsed the April 22 actions, and its 5,000-member New York chapter is sending a contingent to Harrisburg on April 1.

The Irish Republican Clubs of the U.S. and Canada have also endorsed the April 22 actions and will be helping to build an Irish contingent in the New York demonstration. A picket line at the U.S. embassy in Dublin

is being organized for April 22.

A new Swiss antiwar coalition, the Comité National Pour le 22 Avril (National Committee for April 22), has announced that it will be organizing a national demonstration in Zurich on April 22.

Antiwar activists from 11 cities attended the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) national steering com-

mittee meeting at Barnard College in New York City March 25. The SMC national staff reported that there is an excellent possibility of getting 40 hours of radio programming on the April 22 actions, starting the week before the demonstrations. The same type of radio hookup during the May 1970 student strike reached 90 campus radio stations and 90 commercial FM stations.

A new 16-page issue of *The Student Mobilizer* is available from the SMC. This issue of *The Mobilizer* is intended for mass-distribution for building the April 22 demonstrations. It can be ordered from the SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone (212) 741-1960.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Why labor and La Raza the Republican and



Speech by Bert Corona

The following is the first part of a speech given by Bert Corona Jan. 22, 1972, at the Mi Raza Primero Conference in Muskegon, Mich., where he was a keynote speaker. Corona is a founder and former president of California MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association). In 1971 he unsuccessfully attempted to convince the state convention of MAPA to help organize and get the Raza Unida Party on the ballot in California. As well as being a RUP supporter, Corona is presently leading a struggle in defense of the rights of undocumented Raza workers through CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Autonomous Social Action Center) and Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers).

The speech, originally delivered in Spanish, has been translated by Militant staff writer Antonio Camejo. Editing has been limited to minor stylistic changes and the elimination of repetition.

The second and final portion of the speech deals with the fight against the increasing harassment and deportation of undocumented Raza workers by the U.S. Immigration Service. It will be published in a subsequent issue.

"Perhaps inside the Democratic Party, working within the system, we are going to have the influence we all want." We have all heard this. Senator Montoya [D-N. M.] tells us every time we get together, "Why don't you fellows work positively within the system?" Mr. Roybal [D-Calif.] tells us the same thing. They all say the same thing, and then the labor leaders when they come to get our vote say the same thing. But let's see just what the labor movement has received being inside the Democratic Party.

Since the labor movement doesn't control the party but is simply a bloc within a party that is controlled by others, it has received only crumbs. It has been able to defend itself so as not to be destroyed completely, but in reality the trade-union movement has not attained any great victories with that approach. In 1947 the government passed the Taft-Hartley law, and many of the labor leaders inside the Democratic Party said at that time, "Well, perhaps it isn't so bad after all. In the end they're going to register all the communist labor leaders

and get them out so they don't bother us—these militants in the unions who keep trying to make us accountable, and who talk about rank-and-file control and worker power."

The law was passed and the labor movement had one hand chained behind its back. Later on in the 1950s after the most reactionary wave we have seen in decades, — McCarthyism — they passed the Landrum-Griffith Act. This tied the hands of labor even more. And now last year they have just established the Pay Board. This famous Pay Board, supported by Democrats and Republicans and supported by the labor movement, betrayed the workers and supports the corporations so they can continue getting larger and larger profits.

Those are the results which make it evident that we are still playing with the illusion that perhaps within one of the two parties, perhaps within the Democratic Party, if all us *mexicanos*, all of us of La Raza, unite something will happen. As the *gabacho* [white] politicians of the Democratic Party say, "Now when all of you 'meskins' get together, and you all get inside the Democratic Party, and you all vote as a bloc, then maybe we'll sit down and decide to name one of you who is eminently qualified to some meaningless position." [Laughter and applause.]

Every time the labor movement, with all its power inside the Democratic Party, has tried to control or benefit a little bit from the large corporations, the real power has pushed it aside and laughed at it. In Texas, the "right to work" law still exists. In state after state controlled by Democratic administrations these antilabor laws still exist. So then where is the great influence that the labor movement has inside the Democratic Party? That's the little story they're trying to sell us. But no matter which party wins a *nosotros nos siguen jodiendo, como dice el español* [they'll continue screwing us, as the Spanish say]. [Laughter and applause.]

We can see this now in the law that they're trying to pass against the longshoremen's strike on the West Coast. This is the end result of the politics of collaboration within one party that is controlled by the same group that controls the other party, and this is going to result in a great defeat for the workers movement in its totality. This is the final step of bankrupt and accommodationist politics. Perhaps at one time, during the years of [Franklin D.] Roosevelt it was a viable policy. Perhaps at some time it had a certain validity. I don't know. But it is now clearly ridiculous.

And this is what they want to sell us in 1972. No less than 20 Chicano representatives of Muskie, of Kennedy, of all of them, have come to California. And they all come with the same tune—which doesn't go beyond three notes—"It's to our advantage. It's to our advantage because this time it will be different." How is it going to be any different if the only difference is the puppets they have up front? Behind the curtain are Morgan, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Vanderbilt. They're all back there. The Chase Manhattan Bank, the Bank of America, the First National Bank of New York, the Boston group, and I continue mentioning them because those groups have a lot to do with us Chicanos, with La Raza, with Puerto Ri-

cans and Central and South Americans. After all, who are the owners of ASARCO [American Smelting and Refining Company], of the great mining corporations of Mexico, of Peru, or were [the owners] in Chile? They are Morgan, Rockefeller, and the rest. Who are the owners of the railroads of the Southwest, of the Southern Pacific, of the Santa Fe, of the Texas Pacific, and all the rest? Look at the sides of the freight cars. They say "J.P. Morgan Company." Those are the owners of the railroads.

Owners of industry

Who are the owners of the industries, developed in the last hundred years under the capitalist system in the Southwest or western part of the United States? These same cats. They are the owners of almost all the new industry in Mexico. Eighty percent of Mexico's industry that is not in the hands of the government is penetrated in a dominant manner by the capital of these same five or six financial groups. This is the simple reality of the matter. And this situation is repeated in Central and South America, in the countries of the Caribbean, in Africa, and in all the underdeveloped nations controlled by these world capitalists. It is the same story.

So when there is a strike in agriculture we are fighting against these same elements. They are the owners

be coming from!] [Laughter and applause.]

They have given the same promises and the same alternatives to the labor movement that they give us—crumbs. They parade before us the dilemma of the "lesser of two evils." "Come with us because we are less evil than the other one." But as this one guy says, "Bring me two pregnant women and even though one of them is only just a little bit pregnant, she's still pregnant." [Laughter and applause.]

And the system knows how to manipulate. We have seen how from time to time they name a person with a Spanish surname to be an ambassador. They do the same thing with labor leaders. So we can't forget what our history has been, because they try to repeat our history, each time a little more polished, more sophisticated, in order to serve those in power. A while back some gentlemen were pushing a new political party in this country, the New Democratic Coalition. And they went to the campuses and had meetings with what they called "the leadership." And a lot of students went and asked some strong questions because they saw a certain similarity between this and the Democratic Party in spite of the rhetoric. These Democrats, disguised as the New Democratic Coalition, use our



Los Angeles rally, March 4, 1972, protesting increasing deportation of undocumented workers. Demonstration was organized by Hermandad General de Trabajadores.

of the canneries. Not directly of course. They have names like Heinz, Vandecamp, Del Monte, the Green Giant, but in the end it's the same. When there is a strike in the mines against Kennecott, Anaconda, ASARCO, or St. Joseph's Lead, in the end we have to see that we are dealing with the same group. And they don't only dominate in the Southwest and the rest of the country but also in Mexico and in Central and South America. It is very important that we know exactly what system controls these two political parties. *Porque si nos vamos a meter al toril, hay que saber de donde vienen los toros!* [Because if we are going to get into the bullpen we have to know where the bulls will

rhetoric. They talk about "liberation," being against oppression and racism, against the war. They are professors of terminology. But when we asked them if they were totally committed to struggle against the Democratic Party, come what may, to defend the interests of the Chicano vote in relation to reapportionment, they began to vacillate saying, "We support it in principle, but we don't know what the situation is here, etc." The same old stuff. When it comes from a party not controlled by the people, by the power of the masses, then it doesn't matter how they dress it. *Pueden vestir al mono de seda, pero mono se queda.* [You can dress a monkey in silk but it's still a monkey.]

Raza should break with Democratic parties

Understanding then how both parties work in the political system in this country, how could we defend and promote our vital interests within either party, especially the Democratic Party? We already see what has happened to the trade-union movement. We have seen what has happened to the Black movement. Despite the fact that they have many elected officials, the mass of the Black people remain as poor as ever. Brutality against Black people is as profound as ever.

Now, of course, it is a little different. It is more subtle, more disguised, and no longer a totally open racism. But a subtle poison can be worse than one with the label right out front. No one is going to take a bottle that says, "caution, arsenic." But if they give it to you as if it were water? [Laughter and applause.] That is the situation with this little party. *Nos quieren hacer de chivos los tamales* [They want to give us tamales made out of goat meat]. We know that if we get back into the Democratic Party, as some people are going around proposing, this time we are not only going to come out battered, as we always have, but skinned alive [laughter], a peeled onion. [Laughter and applause.]

What has been the history of the *mexicano* in the United States? What



Photo by Harry King

documented Raza workers.

has been the history of the peoples and countries of Latin America during the last hundred years? If we refuse to accept how the past has been a nightmare, then we don't have much of a future, because these two political parties are the property of the Rockefellers, the Morgans, Vanderbilts, Carnegies, and all those financial organizations they have established.

What is the role that they have defined for us? *That we should be a permanent source of cheap labor for this economic system*, always vulnerable to exploitation. Because this system is characterized by a very singular thing: nothing exists in private or semiprivate hands that is not for the purpose of producing profits. For

this reason, we have migrated to every corner of this country. If this were not the case, then all of us would have stayed along the border, in the Southwest. But many times I find more people from New Mexico or Texas in the Northwest, for example, than in those states themselves. Why? Why do they go there? Who takes them there? Do they go because they are masters of their own destiny? If that were so, I am sure that *nuestra Raza* [our people] would not be wandering over there near Canada where it rains every day and you almost drown six months out of the year, where you can't find dry corn to make good fat *tortillas*. People don't go there because they want to. You don't find them in Alaska freezing to death, fishing and working in those smelly, disease-ridden fish packing plants because they want to. Why then do they go? Because the economic system has denied them the possibility of making a decent living in *El Valle* in Texas, or a decent living in the country of their origin, Mexico. [Applause.] Because these same companies exploit there also.

Even while accepting that many of the whites are also victims of this system, we have to point out that this system—based completely on profits and the exploitation of the masses by the few in order to obtain super profits—has catalogued us to serve forever as cheap labor in Mexico, in central and South America, in the Southwest, the Midwest, in Alaska, or in the North Pole if they could make some profits. And they'll probably even send us to the moon to work the mines. [Applause.] What is the role that has been designated for Mexico or Central and South America? Simply the same thing, that of removing the raw materials from the mines of Mexico, Chile, Peru, at the lowest prices [so] that Venezuelan and Mexican petroleum appear in other areas at the cheapest possible prices. Even the large agricultural interests in the Southwest are moving canneries and packaging plants across the border because harvesting is cheaper in Mexico. Everything is based on producing the greatest possible profits. And if we believe there is any other "mystique" to politics, we're dreaming. *Nos hemos tragado no, no mas un atole, sino hasta el dedo*. [We've not only swallowed the hook, line, and sinker, but the fishing pole as well.] [Laughter.]

There comes a time in history when a people have no choice but to do what history calls upon them to do—to break with such a vile history, with the nightmare of having been exploited, of always being vulnerable and never enjoying economic stability. We have never been part of the "American way of life," of the affluence or wealth of this country. As Mr [Salvador] Ramirez said this morning the unionized workers, the white workers, are justly complaining about the Pay Board and its decisions. They're complaining because their average earnings are \$8,900 per year. What is to be said about our people in Los Angeles who don't receive more than \$2,500 annually working in the garment or the electronics industries, in the canneries, or in the other industries where our people can get work? Or in South Texas where earnings don't reach \$1,000? We are talking

about a very real situation—the plight of the masses of our people.

'Our own party'

On the basis of that experience, on the basis that these two parties have been nothing but promises—purely a love of words and not of deeds—there is only one way out, and that is to form our own party. And that is why La Raza Unida Party has been receiving the support of the people. That is why you have seen the successes in *Cristal*, in South Texas, in Colorado, in the campaign of Raul Ruiz [in Los Angeles], in other places. Because our people have said, "*Ya Basta!* [Enough!] We're up to here with the lies, with the tricks, and with the promises without deeds to back them up." The deeds don't exist to back up the promises, nor to guarantee anything so that we might have faith and count on something for the future within those parties.

But what kind of party must our party be? Is it going to be simply a copy of the other parties to fight for political power within the system? If we are going to be satisfied with working within the framework the system has given us, if we think that our party, working within the system, is going to be able to push aside, to reject, the role assigned us by the large financial groups, by the great powers which control this nation, then we are dreaming. Then we are even more mistaken.

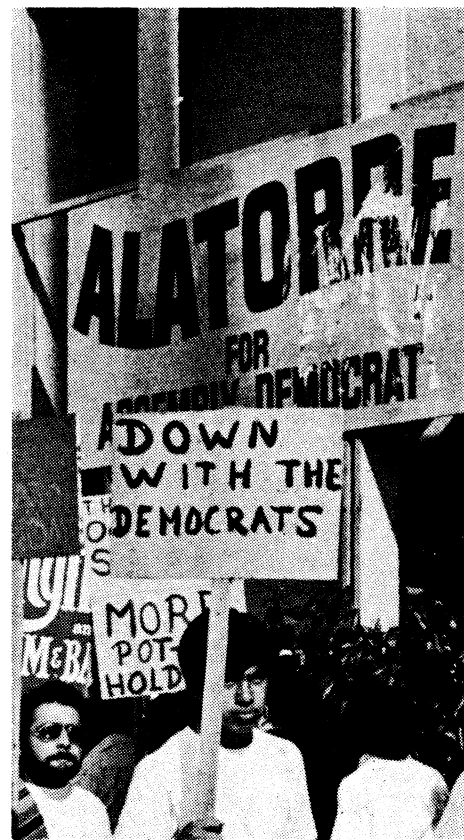


Photo by Priscilla March

Los Angeles Raza Unida Party supporters picket headquarters of Richard Alatorre, Democratic candidate in elections last fall. Votes won by RUP candidate Raul Ruiz led to Alatorre's defeat.

Our party, first of all, must emanate from this history of betrayal, of neglect, of exploitation, which has been our life here in this country, not only in the economic, social and cultural sphere, but in politics itself. That has been our history, and from there must emanate the very basis of our party. Every step that this *Partido de La Raza Unida* takes must fulfill a series of criteria. One of these, I believe, should be whether or not the action will strengthen the political independence of our people. Second, whether the step or proposition is going to

benefit the great mass of the poor of our people, or if it will benefit only a few. And third, if an action will help develop or establish the means through which our people, our Raza, can determine its own destiny. If we ask these questions every time that we support a candidate or a proposition, I don't think we're going to make so many errors. Errors we will make. Sometimes we deserve them, but as the saying goes, we are entitled to them.

This party must see the reality of what our life has been here. If not, we will be no more than another chapter in the history of the political exploitation of our people by the capitalist economic system and the two parties it controls. We can't play with a lion and expect that it will treat us as a kitten treats a lamb. And if we approach a wolf, and we are still little lambs, we will get eaten for sure. Thus we must always think out our steps and never be afraid to take an independent stand as the comrades of the Raza Unida Party in Texas have done—a position in which we bring upon ourselves the hatred of the opposition and all those other elements controlled by the two parties.

Only in that manner will we be able to march forward. I believe that if our party develops on the basis of political independence, with the determination that we are going to control our own lives—always rejecting suicidal courses or the romances and serenades of the foundations with the little programs they offer us—then we will have a weapon that can authentically represent our vital interests. We have to conceive a plan for dealing with these two parties without accommodating ourselves to them. And perhaps the only way that we can deal with them is in continuous battle.

I believe there are great possibilities for La Raza Unida Party. In Southern California we did not achieve the big victory that we hoped for,—that of establishing our party through registration. In order to qualify as a legal party in California you have to register no less than 67,000 new voters in the Raza Unida Party. In order to fulfill that figure you have to register double that number, because the registrars of voters are very racist. Every Spanish surname they see come in on the lists they challenge or investigate by sending the people letters asking them to mail or bring in proof of their citizenship. Some of our people replied that they were citizens by treaty. So the registrar of voters asked for a copy of it. We sent him a copy of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. [Laughter.]

But we are forging a unity of the Chicano youth, the women, the workers, the farm workers, the old, and the poor. But already, the unity in Los Angeles where I live and work is reaching even a broader level. That is because of the very special exploitation that exists there. Our unity has to include not only the Chicanos born here, but also those who come from Mexico and Central and South America with documents, and those who come from there without documents—those people who are called *mojados* [wetbacks] or "illegals." We don't accept these terms, because for us the only thing that is illegal is the Immigration Service. [Applause.]

'72 Socialist Campaign

During the week ending March 23, a total of 521 people from 32 states and the District of Columbia signed cards endorsing the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. This brings the number of endorsers to 7,322.

Of the 521 new endorsers, 134 were Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley, bringing the total number of Afro-American endorsers to 1,009.

The top five states of the week were New Mexico, 82; Illinois, 67; Alabama, 59; Michigan, 41; and Arizona, 33. New Mexico and Arizona were recently visited by the Southwest Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley team.

Three SWP candidates for the Austin, Texas, school board have been ruled off the ballot for the April 1 elections. Austin Independent School District Attorney J. N. Patterson ruled that Eric Sell, Laura Maggi, and Howard Petrick were ineligible because they refused to sign a loyalty affidavit. The oath states in part that the candidates "believe in and approve of" as well as "support and defend . . . the present representative form of government."

An appeal for a state court injunction was denied March 6. The Texas loyalty oath is currently being challenged in federal court by the SWP. The candidates have pledged a write-in campaign if refused ballot status.

Walter L. Lowe, after an interview with Andrew Pulley, wrote the following in the March 21 *Chicago Sun-Times*:

"While Shirley Chisholm beats the bushes for delegates and black politicians vie for power with the Democratic Party, one black man has already been selected by his party as a vice-presidential candidate."

Lowe quotes Pulley as saying, "Part of our program would be to tax those people who profit from the war, and who profit from racism—through racist employment and payment policies—100 percent. . . . There would be no tax on incomes of \$10,000 or less, a graduated tax on income between \$10,000 and \$25,000 and income over \$25,000 would be taxed 100 percent. . . ."

A recent issue of *The New Paper*, an underground paper at West Georgia State College, printed the following quote from Helen Keller:

"We the people are not free. Our democracy is but a name. We vote? What does that mean? It means that we choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. We elect expensive masters to do our work for us, and then blame them because they work for themselves and their class."

—(1911)

The *New Paper* adds that the 1972 SWP campaign is "trying to show people what the present political system is really like and to offer a true choice—instead of the Democrats and Republicans (Tweedledum and Tweedledee)."

On March 25, the Lower Manhattan, N.Y., SWP campaign sponsored a new and used book sale, raising \$675 for the socialist campaign. The book sale will be continued on local campuses.

Mark Schneider of the San Francisco YSJP reports that Linda Jenness received 62 votes (5.9 percent) in a poll taken by the National Youth Caucus on March 1-3 at San Francisco College. Jenness finished ahead of Lindsay who received 42 votes; Wallace, 23; Humphrey, 21; Jackson, 9; Ashbrook, 4; Yorty, 1; and Hartke, 0. McGovern received 276 votes; Chisholm, 169; McCloskey, 94; McCarthy, 89; Muskie, 87; and Nixon, 78. The poll was taken on the corner of 19th Avenue and Holloway, where students catch the trolley.

The following are excerpts from mail recently received by the SWP national campaign office:

"I read that Mayor Lindsay had publicly committed himself to debate Linda Jenness. Try to have it in New York City, even though Mayor Lindsay is out campaigning instead of trying to do his job. Linda Jenness would get the strongest support here." Patrick Barbanes, New York City.

"We recently organized a YSJP here in Cedar Falls on the University of Northern Iowa campus. We took this action after a YSJP traveling group came to our campus." YSJP, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

"I read your article in the *Guardian* (March 22) entitled 'SWP Charts Course for Elections.' I would like some information on the Socialist Workers Party and would appreciate your sending it to me. Thank you." from Franklin, Ind.

"People: I'd be most interested in receiving the McGovern Truth Kit and other political particulars. I'm sorry I'm not able to make a monetary contribution, but I'm in prison. I'm just becoming politically aware and I'd like to know all I can. Thank you. Peace," S. W., Shelton, Wash.

And a telegram from a high school student in Canada: "Have been reading about the campaign in *The Militant* STOP It's a great campaign and paper STOP Continuons le combat STOP Venceremos STOP Keep fighting, and don't stop STOP P. S. \$10.00 for matching fund." David Johnson, Toronto, Ontario.

Rare-button collectors: A limited number of 1964 and 1968 SWP campaign buttons are available from the national campaign office. Cost: \$1 each.

Copies of Linda Jenness' March 14 statement on gay liberation (see page 21) are available from the national campaign office. Send all requests for campaign materials and contributions to SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

—STEVE BEREN

Jenness, McGovern speak at U of Wis.

By JANICE LYNN

MARCH 27—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and Senator George McGovern addressed students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison March 26 as part of an Election '72 Symposium sponsored by the Wisconsin Student Association.

Supporters of Linda Jenness on the Madison campus issued leaflets and campaign publicity urging McGovern to agree to a public debate since both candidates were scheduled to address students the same day, but McGovern refused.

The 3,500 students who attended the McGovern meeting were greeted with a huge banner draped across the top of the bleachers saying "DEBATE JENNESS," and three or four campaign posters urging students to vote for Jenness in the CHOICE '72 presidential preference poll to be held on the campus March 28.

After McGovern's talk, a series of panelists questioned him. One of the panelists, Sally Moore from the Madison Women's Abortion Coalition, explained that she had been following the exchanges between McGovern and Linda Jenness and had found them quite educational. However, she said, she had been shocked to read in the papers that McGovern had called the Socialist Workers Party "a bunch of liars." She said she had never known either Linda Jenness or the Socialist Workers Party to personally attack McGovern. At this point, McGovern interrupted and said, "Are you kidding?"

Moore asked McGovern if he would agree to publicly debate the political differences between the two campaigns.

McGovern answered that he was campaigning for the nomination of his party, and that he was not going to "waste his time" debating people who are not in the Democratic Party, "including Nixon and Jenness." He proceeded to explain that "the most extensive piece of campaign literature" he had seen was a "pamphlet in which they [the YSJP] call me a 'warmonger,' "and that he would stand by his statement that the Socialist Workers Party is "a bunch of liars."

After McGovern's talk, Jenness addressed a meeting of 250. Jenness answered McGovern's charges, explaining that the word "warmonger" was not used in the pamphlet to which McGovern had referred. "This is the

pamphlet McGovern was talking about," said Jenness, holding up a copy of *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About George McGovern . . .*, "and it is available for just 25 cents. You can read it and see for yourselves who is telling the truth." The pamphlet reveals McGovern's consistent record of voting for military appropriations.

"I want to have a debate," Jenness continued, "a public debate where we can deal with the real political issues."

The Madison chapter of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley reports that it immediately sold all 60 McGovern pamphlets it had in stock, and signed up many new endorsers of the Socialist Workers campaign.

The YSJP is continuing to campaign for Jenness in the CHOICE '72 mock election in Madison as well as for a "yes" vote on the three referendum questions: repeal of all anti-abortion laws, immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, and amnesty for all draft resisters.

As part of the CHOICE '72 program, the Wisconsin Student Association is also sponsoring talks by presidential candidates Eugene McCarthy and Shirley Chisholm, and Communist vice-presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner.

Statewide results are not yet in on the IMPACT '72 poll conducted on 25 Texas campuses in March. At the University of Houston, however, Linda Jenness finished tenth in a field of 15 candidates. She received 40 votes. Nixon came in first with 809 votes, followed by Muskie with 374; McGovern, 366; and Chisholm, 149.

Immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia won by a 3-to-2 margin in the University of Houston poll. Students also voted 1,537 to 633 for repealing all abortion laws. In a unanimous vote, 2,125 students supported lowering the age of majority in Texas to 18. Approximately 2,400 U of H students participated in IMPACT '72 out of a student body of 28,000.

The following dates have been set for other CHOICE '72 polls: Temple University (Philadelphia), April 19-20; Worcester State College and Clark University (Worcester, Mass.), April 18-19; Tufts University and University of Massachusetts (Medford, Mass.), April 18-19; University of Rhode Island (Kingston), April 18; Stonehill College (North Easton, Mass.), April 19.

Miller debates young Democrats in N.Y.

NEW YORK—Seventy-five people attended a March 24 debate between Laura Miller, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Jon Sicher of Youth for Muskie; and Mauro Casci, a Lindsay supporter, at the Lower Manhattan Militant Labor Forum.

Sicher and Casci claimed during the debate that youth could be effective only by working through the Democratic Party. Miller responded that "Everything we, the American people, have won, every political advance we have made, has been the result of uncompromising struggle against the system and the two parties that represent it. . . . The eight-hour day, the abolition of child labor, the right of women and Blacks to vote . . . this is what we have gained by fighting

independently. This is what the socialist campaign stands for—effectiveness, winning what we want."

Miller addressed 80 people the following evening at a New Haven rally to launch the campaign of John Ratliff, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress in the 3rd C. D. in Connecticut.

During her tour of New York, Miller also debated a representative of Young Americans for Freedom at Queens College, and a professor at the State University of New York in Albany. The theme of both debates, which drew 50 students at each school, was "Can a socialist program win in the United States?"

Miller also spoke at Harpur College in Binghamton, N.Y., where three students asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Jenness, Pulley tour Texas; Ill.

By RALPH BATES
and JOHN HOTCHKISS

LUBBOCK, Texas—The school administration at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas, has backed down on its refusal to recognize the Young Socialist Alliance as a campus organization. This action came after 460 students on campus turned out March 21 to hear Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate. Two days later, the administration reversed its veto of the Committee on Student Organization's unanimous decision in favor of recognizing the YSA. The CSO has reconfirmed its approval of the YSA as a legitimate campus group.



Photo by R. Bates

Linda Jenness with Mary Lou de la Cerda, a Chicana activist in Lubbock, Texas.

The huge turnout for Jenness's meeting rebuffed administration attempts to harass campaign supporters who were publicizing the event. Jenness also held a successful press conference while in Lubbock, drawing three TV stations, five radio stations, and local newspapers. The *University Daily*, the Texas Tech student newspaper, covered Jenness's campus speech in a front-page article.

By SHERRY SMITH

HOUSTON—Jenness addressed more than 100 people here at a banquet

held at the South Park Community Parrish on March 25. Campaign supporters came from as far away as Baton Rouge, La., and Wichita Falls, Texas, to hear Jenness; Steve Wattenmaker, active-duty GI running for U.S. Congress in the 20th C.D. on the SWP ticket; David Cantú, an activist in La Raza Unida Party and writer for *Papel Chicano* who supports the SWP campaign; Jo Nelson, Women's Advocate at the University of Houston; Roger Spencer, Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley; and Jeff Dillon, Huntsville Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. A collection following the speeches raised \$500.

Jenness toured the Houston city jail, and explained on TV afterward that the SWP will be initiating a suit in New York for the right of prisoners to hear candidates and receive campaign literature. Previously, both Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for governor of Texas, and Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, had been denied permission to visit the city jail.

The South Texas Junior College Young Democrats sponsored a meeting for Jenness, after the school administration refused to allow a meeting sponsored by the YSJP on the grounds that the YSJP has not received official campus recognition.

Forty Black students at Texas Southern University heard Jenness. While in Houston she also spoke at Bel Aire High School, Worthing High School, Rice University, and St. Thomas College.

Of the 65 students who attended Jenness' speech at Sam Houston State College in Huntsville, 30 signed cards endorsing the SWP ticket.

Jenness' Texas tour received coverage on radio and TV, in the *Houston Post*, *Papel Chicano*, the *San Antonio Light*, and the *San Antonio Express-News*.

Seventy-five people signed cards endorsing the SWP campaign during Jenness's visit to Texas. Fifteen people asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

By WILLA MADDEN

CHICAGO—The second week of Andrew Pulley's March 15-29 tour of the Midwest region established three new locals of the Young Socialist Alliance—in St. Louis, Mo.; Davenport, Iowa; and Elmwood, Ill. Seventy-two people, including 15 Afro-Americans, signed up as endorsers of the Socialist Workers Party campaign during meetings organized for the vice-presidential candidate.

Pulley's largest meeting, at St. Ambrose College in Davenport, Iowa, drew 100 students. He also spoke at

SWP certified on ballot in Mich.

The State of Michigan officially certified the Socialist Workers Party for ballot status on March 21. Thus Michigan became the first state to rule on the acceptability of signatures filed in behalf of the SWP campaign.

A little more than 14,000 signatures are required to recognize a new party in Michigan. The SWP filed 28,732.

SWP campaign supporters have already filed a total of more than 100,000 signatures on nominating petitions in seven states: Michigan (28,732); Florida (51,600); Kentucky (2,007); Utah (973); Ohio (9,767); Indiana (16,500); and Vermont (500). In addition, Ohio and Pennsylvania petitioners have obtained a total of 7,000 signatures to win ballot status for SWP congressional candidates.

Washington University in St. Louis; Knox College in Galesburg, Ill.; and to 50 students at Elmwood High School, where 22 students endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

In St. Louis, the Cairo United Front radio program interviewed Pulley. He also appeared on Davenport, Iowa, television for a 90-minute interview.

Conn. SWP campaign launched

NEW HAVEN, Conn., March 25—Eighty people attended a \$3-a-plate banquet and a rally here tonight to launch the campaign of John Ratliff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Connecticut's 3rd C.D. The event raised \$733 for the socialist campaign.

Ratliff announced at the rally that his campaign supporters were organizing a petition drive to meet the requirement of 1,800 signatures to place his name on the Connecticut ballot.

Scoring the record of his incumbent opponent, Democrat Robert Giaimo, in support of the war in Southeast Asia, Ratliff urged participation in the

antiwar demonstrations scheduled for New Haven on April 15 and for New York and Los Angeles on April 22.

Ratliff called for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, contrasting his position to Giaimo's suggestion that the United States intervene and "mediate" the civil rights struggle there.

In his speech, Ratliff also expressed his support for the *Women vs. Connecticut* class action suit against the state's anti-abortion law. He called on his campaign supporters to help build the May 1-6 Abortion Action Week activities planned for New Haven and other cities.

Ed Miles, a member of Vietnam Vet-

erans Against the War (VVAW), and Cliff Bush, president of the Black Students Union at the University of New Haven, also spoke at the rally. Miles endorsed Ratliff's campaign and called for support to the April 22 antiwar actions. Solidarizing himself with the SWP's demand for Black control of the Black community, Bush urged participation in the African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., on May 27.

Other speakers at the rally included B.R. Washington, New York SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Harlem, and Laura Miller, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

Chisholm opposed to amnesty

BOSTON—Democratic presidential contender Representative Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.) spoke in Framingham, Mass., on March 25 to a meeting of 800 people. Citizens for Participation Politics sponsored the event.

During the question and answer period, Chisholm was asked to explain the differences between her campaign and George McGovern's. Chisholm responded: "George and I are very good friends. We see eye-to-eye on a lot of issues and a lot of things. The major difference is that George is a man and I'm a woman; George is white and I'm Black."

A member of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley asked Chisholm if she would debate Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. "First of all, I will not debate with anybody else unless all the other candidates are going to do it also," Chisholm answered. She went on to say, "I don't understand why there are certain groups in this country who will pick out Shirley Chisholm and hound her every place she goes. . . . I think that if you're going to project your candidate [Jenness] I think first of all you should project candidates who meet the require-

ments of age, if nothing else." Senator McGovern has also used Jenness's age as an excuse for not debating her.

Chisholm stated at the meeting that she opposed amnesty for draft resisters and deserters. "I think to have complete amnesty at this point for those fellows, as contrasted to the other fellows who are still serving in this immoral war, will damage the morale of soldiers who are still at war."

The YSJP passed out the "Open Letter to the Chisholm Campaign from Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley" during the meeting. Forty copies of *The Militant* were sold.

\$20,000

13,858

6,929

\$20,000 Campaign Matching Fund Drive enters final weeks

With two-and-one-half weeks remaining, the Socialist Campaign Matching Fund has reached a total of \$13,858 for the Jenness-Pulley campaign. The \$6,929 sent in to the national campaign office thus far has been matched by the California campaign supporter who is matching all contributions to the campaign, up to \$10,000. The Matching Fund drive concludes April 14.

The \$1,655 sent in to the national campaign office this week included a \$500 contribution from San Francisco, \$100 from Cleveland, \$100 from Illinois, a \$150 pledge from Detroit, and 40 percent of the collection of \$700 taken at the New Haven, Conn. Socialist Workers Campaign rally on March 25.

() I can contribute \$___ to the \$20,000 Matching Fund
 () I can contribute \$___ to the Matching Fund at the rate of \$___ per month between now and November.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Racists organize against Ga. busing order

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA—Recent antibusing protests in Georgia have attracted national attention and provided racist campaign fodder for demagogic politicians. Centered in Augusta, Ga., they arose as a response to a U. S. district court order that Richmond County schools, including Augusta's, must desegregate.

The order did not mention busing but required that previously all Black and all white schools be "paired" and "clustered," leading to a large reassignment of pupils. Bus rides are provided by the school system for any children living a mile or more away from their school.

The reaction of white parents was strongest at the time when the first seven schools were desegregated. On Feb. 15 an organized busing boycott kept approximately 95 percent of Augusta's white pupils home from school. Two weeks later another boycott, planned to coincide with Nixon's return from China, was 85 percent successful among white pupils. It was called a statewide boycott, however, and lack of support from other areas led its organizers to assess it as a failure.

When four more schools were desegregated on March 15, attention again focused on the issue, but the response this time was significantly weaker. Prior to the "statewide" boycott on Feb. 29, a rally of 5,000 whites had been held in Augusta; on March 15 only about 900 people participated in rallies, and no boycott was organized.

The movement peaked with the Feb. 29 activities. A number of top-ranking elected officials in Georgia, including Lieutenant Governor Lester Maddox, enthusiastically supported the rallies and boycotts. Even "New South" Governor Jimmy Carter, who won election in 1970 by projecting a

liberal, Kennedy-type image, agreed that since "the massive forced busing . . . in Richmond County is the most serious threat to education I can remember . . . it would be all right for Georgia parents to hold their children out of school briefly."

Carter was advocating an illegal act, since the district court issued an injunction against boycotts and other activities aimed at sabotaging the desegregation order. He later withdrew his endorsement of the boycott, but continued to oppose busing.

Although the white parents are obviously concerned with maintaining the relatively higher quality educational opportunities for their children at the expense of Black children, many are reluctant to admit that racism is at the root of their movement.

Ms. Freddie Childress, one of the organizers of the Augusta white parents group, Citizens for Neighborhood Schools (CNS), told the Atlanta *Constitution* that while "racial overtones" are present in the antibusing protests, she believes that the "motive" behind the court order—to improve educational opportunities for Blacks—is good. She admitted, however, that her primary concern is the rights of white children.

This sort of hypocrisy is most often buttressed by arguments of "inconvenience to the school children." In Augusta, however, the antibusing motives are a bit more transparent since no child involved in desegregation transfers will have to ride more than eight miles from home. "Distance in busing is not really a problem here," CNS attorney O. Torbitt Ivey Jr. admitted.

"Busing is not the issue here. . . . The big lie that Black schools are as good as white schools

has come back to haunt the white man," one Black testified at a public hearing in Augusta. Daniel Cross, president of the Augusta NAACP, told the hearing, "Our Black schools today do not come up to the standards of white schools."

A coalition of Black organizations in the Augusta area has called for actions during the Masters Golf Tournament in early April and for a boycott of white merchants. Support of school desegregation is one of several demands being raised.

In a statement to the press March 1 in Augusta, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate Alice Conner supported efforts by Black parents to obtain quality education for their children. She called for "massive federal, state, and local funds to be made available to, and placed under the control of, the Black community."



Racist antibusing rally in Augusta, Ga.

N.Y. Blacks: community control real issue

By TONY THOMAS

Is busing a panacea for the problems of Black education? An article in the March 20 *New York Times* surveying the experiences of Afro-American parents and students in New York City provides some useful insights into this question.

It is clear from the article that many of the parents of the 11,000 youth who are enrolled in voluntary busing programs feel that busing will provide a better education than their children were able to find in the wretched schools in the Black community. These 11,000 students represent about 1 percent of the New York City school population, which is almost 60 percent Black and Puerto Rican.

"It wasn't for the sake of integration," Kenneth Gill, a Black pharmacist in the St. Albans section of Queens, replied when the *Times* asked why his children are bused into schools in Forest Hills,

a predominantly white section of Queens. "It was for the sake of getting a better education for our kids."

Gill described the education his children received in a neighborhood school before being bused: "It was on triple session, and it was a bad school. There was very little education going on."

Mary Gill described the choices they faced by saying, "It was either the children being psychologically affected by going out of the neighborhood or damaged academically."

The article pointed out that "Some Black parents complain that their children are segregated even after they get to the predominantly white schools. The existence of all-Black classes within 'integrated' schools was documented by David Rogers in his book, *110 Livingston Street*. . . . "Tracking" systems in these schools herd Black children into all-Black classes on the basis of their

supposedly "low" educational levels. Thus, the "integrated" schools serve as extensions of the same racist educational system these pupils supposedly "left" in the Black community.

Leon Lazarus, acting principal of Public School 144—which one of the Gills' children attends—told the *Times* that hardly any of the Black students are in the school orchestra, although a quarter of the students are Black, because they cannot afford to rent the instruments.

David X. Spencer, chairman of the governing board of Harlem's Intermediate School 201, told the *Times* that he and other Black activists had become frustrated with such experiences with "integrated" education—"a frustration that has finally rebounded into the fight by Blacks for control of their community schools," the *Times* wrote.

" . . . give us the money, let us control our own schools and we'll give [Afro-American children] quality education," Spencer said.

By Any Means Necessary

RHODESIAN ORE ENTERS U. S. At the Burnside Terminal in Louisiana, 25,000 tons of Rhodesian chrome ore were unloaded March 20. This signifies the end of the ban on Rhodesian goods the U. S. had instituted in 1966 following a United Nations vote for economic sanctions against the Ian Smith regime.

The entry of the ore sparked organized protests by African-Americans. Five days before the ore arrived, about 300 Blacks demonstrated outside the terminal. According to the March 16 *New York Times*, most of them were students from



Demonstrators at Burnside, March 20.

Southern University, 20 miles away in Baton Rouge. A Black Louisiana state legislator was reported among the demonstrators.

The group responsible for the protest was called the Committee of Blacks Against Oppression. They had expected the shipment to arrive that day.

When the ore did arrive, the March 21 *Times* reported, 40 Black protesters were on hand. They were met by deputy sheriffs who aimed shotguns at them. Two demonstrators were arrested for allegedly trespassing on terminal property.

But the students were not the only ones displaying opposition. The predominantly Black Baton Rouge local of the International Longshoremen's Association that works the Burnside Terminal refused to unload the ore. Another "union," the Operating Engineers, did the work.

The ore will be followed by other Rhodesian products. The events leading to this renewed trade are a good example of how the corporations and government work hand in hand in supporting the racist regimes in southern Africa.

Union Carbide and the Foote Mineral Co. of Exton, Pa. were major opponents of imposing sanctions against Rhodesia after it declared "independence" from Britain in November 1965. Their concern stems from the fact that Rhodesia, with a population of 250,000 whites and 5 million Blacks, has the world's largest-known reserves of high-grade chrome ore outside the Soviet Union.

Union Carbide quickly bought 150,000 tons of the ore in 1966 to thwart the sanctions, but the Johnson administration refused to recognize the purchase. In 1970, however, the Nixon administration granted an exception.

After the ban, most U. S. chrome was purchased

from the Soviet Union. This provided a pretext for Senator Harry Byrd Jr. (Ind-Va.) and Representative James Collins (D-Tex.) to introduce legislation early last year prohibiting the president from banning importation of "strategic" commodities from "free world" countries when those same commodities were being imported from a "Communist country."

Although the bill died in the Foreign Affairs committees of the House and the Senate, the Armed Services Committee of the Senate subsequently picked it up and attached it to the Military Procurement Act then being considered. Both Foote and Union Carbide were doing extensive lobbying in behalf of the measure. And Nixon's silence about it meant in effect White House endorsement.

The measure passed the Senate last October, the House in November, and was signed into law by the president Jan. 1.

The 25,000 tons of ore unloaded March 20 was the first shipment of 150,000 tons purchased by Foote. The actions by the Blacks may be the harbinger of protests to come.

JACKSON STATE SUIT TURNED DOWN BY ALL-WHITE JURY. Last week a federal court jury in Biloxi, Miss., deliberated three days before acquitting several highway patrolmen and Jackson, Miss., policemen of any liability in a damage suit seeking \$13.8-million. The suit was filed by the relatives of two Jackson State College students killed and by three other students wounded in May, 1970, when the police invaded the campus and fired on defenseless antiwar and antidraft demonstrators.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Lordstown strike settled

By HERMAN KIRSCH

LORDSTOWN, Ohio, March 27—A meeting today of 3,500 General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) workers ratified an agreement to return to work after 22 days on strike. The vote was 2,040 for ratification, with 940 against.

Union officers—flanked by Irving Bluestone, UAW General Motors director from Detroit, and William Castevens, UAW regional director—held a news conference during the counting of the votes and declared that the union had won "everything."

About 50 workers in the GMAD skilled trades walked out of the meeting, angered by the decision that they would not be allowed to vote separately. The UAW constitution grants the skilled-trades workers a separate vote in the ratification of a new contract. Nearly 300 of the 600 skilled workers in the Assembly Division met afterwards in the Local 1112 UAW union hall.

Production of Chevrolet Vegas was brought to a halt by the strike that reportedly cost GM \$150-million in sales.

According to the UAW spokesman at the news conference, all but 130 of the approximately 670 workers laid off by GMAD in the past six months would be recalled. The figures are approximate, since GMAD has refused to reveal to the local union the exact number of laid-off workers. As a result, Local 1112 has filed a complaint of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board.

One worker pessimistically confided to this reporter: "Nothing is really settled. It's going to be the same thing all over again."

In the present settlement, 800 out of 1,200 disciplinary layoffs will be cleared. The 800 workers involved will be granted pay for lost time.

Another 1,200 standard grievances—cases where workers complained that changes in assignments gave them more work than they could perform—were also settled.

Irving Bluestone said that the last issue settled in the dispute was plant-wide, inverse seniority. Under inverse seniority, workers with more time in the plant can choose to be laid off before a younger worker. Then they can collect 95 percent of weekly wages under Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB), provided under the UAW contract.

Bluestone said that workers would now get "partial, wall-to-wall [plant-wide] transfer rights," every three months instead of the previous six months. Transfer rights allow workers to bid to change assignments for what are considered better jobs or shifts.

Union members complained after the meeting that GMAD would not follow the agreement. Said one member, "How does anyone know of an opening in another department? The company does not post openings."

Romey Pillery, 28, with four years seniority, asked me, "How would you like to run up and down an assembly line eight hours long?" He added, "A man has obligations at home, too. I'm in condition, so I can handle the regular speed on the line [regular speed is one car every 36 seconds—H.K.]. But if they speed it up even a little, or add one or two assignments, you can feel it. It creates sexual and mental problems at home."

The ratification vote, the large number of workers who did not attend the meeting, and discussions with some union members after the meet-

Continued on page 22

American Indian Movem't fights brutality, humiliation of Indians

By PAUL BOUTELLE

LINCOLN, Neb.—At the headquarters of the American Indian Movement (AIM) here, the Lincoln Indian Center Inc., I spoke to AIM board member Ago Sheridan on March 10. This was three days after a demonstration in Gordon, Neb., that some estimate involved 2,200 Indians. The action was a protest against the murder of Raymond Yellow Thunder.

Sheridan and I discussed the case of Yellow Thunder, the AIM-organized protest in Gordon, the situation faced by Indians in this area, and the organization and goals of AIM.

The body of Yellow Thunder, a 51-year-old Oglala Sioux, was found in a Gordon car lot Feb. 20, seven days after he had been brutally assaulted by drunken American Legionnaires. During an American Legion dance in Gordon Feb. 13, Yellow Thunder, who was minding his own business, was seized outside the dance hall by five Legionnaires, stripped from the waist down and thrown in on the dance floor. His death resulted from injuries sustained in this incident.

The five men who assaulted Yellow Thunder were charged with manslaughter and "false imprisonment." I asked Sheridan what he thought of these indictments.

"He was murdered any way you look at it," Sheridan answered. "These five white men were drunk and decided to whip an Indian. They whipped him, and they did a good job of it. The way it was handled was wrong. These men have been charged with false imprisonment. You don't take someone who has killed a man and charge him with false imprisonment! That in itself shows the attitude of the rich ranchmen around Gordon. I think if five Indians had killed a white man, the whole thing would have been turned around."

We had just heard the results of a second autopsy showing that Yellow Thunder's remains bore no evidence of torture or mutilation. Sheridan County Attorney Michael Smith, in an earlier statement predicting that this would be the result of the autopsy, said that after the autopsy, the AIM protest would "fizzle." I asked Sheridan to comment.

"Suspicion that Yellow Thunder had been mutilated arose because his sister was not allowed to see the body. So she came to the American Indian Movement, and our answer was to congregate in Gordon and begin to get down to the facts—because justice was not done the first time. The second autopsy has shown that the body was not mutilated, but we got the second autopsy. We also got action on other grievances. I don't know why Michael Smith thinks that's a fizzle."

Sheridan told me about other incidents involving brutality against and humiliation of Indians in Gordon, in Lincoln, and in other parts of the state. In response to the March 7 demonstration, one official action was the suspension of a deputy sheriff against whom the Indians had complaints. According to Sheridan, this deputy had assaulted and raped Indian women while they were in jail. "All they did was fire him," Sheridan said, "but there should be charges brought against him too."

"Another case took place in Alliance, Neb.," Sheridan continued. "Four people died in jail there, and they claimed all four were suicides. Now, I find that hard to believe—that four people in jail on a drunk charge are all going to hang themselves."

Sheridan related the story of a woman named Yellow Hawk, who had been subjected to humiliating treatment by a woman working in the county food-stamp office. "When Yellow Hawk had finished her business there," Sheridan said, "this woman got up with a deodorant spray and walked around spraying the chair and the area where Yellow Hawk had been sitting." AIM protested and had the county employee removed from her job. "We put a lot of pressure on them," Sheridan said, "and the whole attitude of the people who work in that office now has changed completely."

Housing and jobs

There are also housing and employment problems for Indians living in Lincoln. Sheridan said that landlords will charge an Indian family up to \$150 a month for an apartment that rents to a white person for \$85 or \$90 a month. "The majority of us are poor people," Sheridan said, "and can't afford to pay \$150 a month—it really comes to about \$180 after you count utilities."

Looking for a job in Lincoln, Sheridan said, an Indian "is made to feel just like he's having dirt put right in his face."

The Gordon protest is the largest demonstration so far staged by the Native American movement in Nebraska. Participation as well as publicity gave the action national scope. Sheridan and others in the office agreed that 2,200 is very close to an accurate figure for the total participation. "And the people came from all over," Sheridan said. "There were Sioux from both Dakotas, Navajo from New

Mexico, Indians from California, Florida, Cleveland, New York, the Carolinas—from everywhere." He commented, "We were very pleased with the turnout because we hadn't expected it to be that large."

He also said he was hoping that a comparable turnout could be organized for another protest in Nebraska—this one involving Indians on the Omaha Indian Reservation, located in Macy, Neb. There, according to Sheridan, "they have been having trouble with the county sheriff. The county sheriff himself, Clyde Story, has been illegally selling items to Indians at a higher price than they would have to pay in a store. He has also been taking Indians out of jail and putting them to work on his farm with no pay," Sheridan claims.

I asked Sheridan about the origins of AIM and about how he became involved in the organization. AIM began around 1968 in Minneapolis. The principal organizers were Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and



From The Saskatchewan Indian

"Imagine, those Indians wanting their own police force. Can't they see what a good job we're doing in preventing crime? Just look at our jails, they're full of Indian people we've arrested. Next thing they'll want is their own attorney general."

Russell Means. "They started out by fighting back, like any other movement, against the injustice they suffered there," Sheridan said.

The first major project of AIM was the organization of patrols to monitor and report police harassment in the South Minneapolis neighborhood around Franklin Avenue between Cedar and Chicago Avenues, a heavily Indian community. These patrols made formal complaints and generated publicity against police brutality and arbitrary arrests of Indians. AIM also became involved in a struggle over Indian rights to harvest wild rice around the same time. The government was trying to take away the Indians' right to harvest the rice—a right given to them by treaty—on the grounds that not enough rice was left for the feeding of migratory water fowl.

"As people heard about the things AIM was doing," Sheridan explained, "it just expanded. People asked them to come in and help fight against problems in other areas, and now it's a national organization with branches in 15 or more cities. The two people heading it up nationally are Dennis Banks and Russell Means."

AIM held its first national conference just last year. Sheridan said this year's conference is slated to begin on May 10 in Minneapolis and to run for five days. He hopes to be able to organize a large delegation from Nebraska to attend.

"The chapter here is very new," he told me. "We're just getting started. We work with the Denver headquarters where Vernon Bellecourt is in charge. Russell Means is now in Cleveland, and Dennis Banks works out of Washington, D.C."

Sheridan said he "just got acquainted with these people about a year ago. I saw the type of work they did, and I thought, 'This town is ready for it; we need such an organization here.' And now we're getting it."

I asked Sheridan at the end of our talk if there were any Indians in elected office or official appointed position in Nebraska.

"No," he answered. "The only Indian we have sitting up there is Bob Mackey. He's the state Indian commissioner, but all he really has is just a title, and that's it. It means nothing. He does nothing. There aren't even any Indians on the police force. Indians on the Omaha Reservation have their own police force, but outside of that, nothing—we have nothing at all."

Indians, Chicanos in Ariz. action

By JOHN BEADLE

TEMPE, Ariz.—On March 10 more than 100 Chicanos, Native Americans, and other students at Arizona State University picketed the inauguration of ASU President John Schwada to protest racist practices at the university.

Demands raised by the ASU MECHA Chapter (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan) included a Chicano Studies Program "to stress the contributions of Chicanos to the United States"; an end to plans to raise admission standards, a move that would deter many Chicanos from going to the school; an end to discriminatory hiring practices; and rejection by Governor Jack Williams of House Bill 2134, which would establish an Agricultural Employment Relations Board and effectively smash the Arizona Farm Workers Union.

In an article in the March 14 *State Press*, the student paper at ASU, Ronnie Martinez of MECHA outlined some of the issues involved in the demonstration. "I think the figures speak for themselves. Of the 228 employees in housing, 18 are Chicano, nine of these are housekeepers. Is it because Chicanos make better housekeepers than R. A.'s or Unit Directors? Are Chicanos not qualified for meaningful positions?"

In fighting against racist hiring practices at ASU, MECHA has the support of the Chicano community, to whom the ASU administration will have to answer.

The contingent of about 25 Native Americans from the Student Coalition of Indian Natives (SKIN) demanded a Native American Equal Opportunities Program (EOP) similar to those now available to Blacks and Chicanos, and a better Native American Studies Program.

So. Calif. Chicanos picket Democrat

By MARIO T. GARCIA

SAN DIEGO—About 350 Chicanos picketed the Sheraton Hotel on exclusive Harbor Island March 11 to protest a dinner of the Spanish-speaking Association of San Diego and specifically the master of ceremonies, Democratic Assemblyman Peter Chacón.

The demonstration was called by the San Diego Raza Unida Party and was supported by several chapters of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan) and CASA-Hermanidad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers) of Los Angeles.

The demonstrators were protesting the fact that Chacón endorsed and helped pass the Dixon-Arnett Law, which provides fines for anyone hiring "illegal aliens," and authorizes the deportation of such undocumented workers discovered in California. The law has been declared unconstitutional by a superior court in Los Angeles, but it went into effect throughout the rest of the state on March 4.

A statement issued by La Raza Unida Party pointed out that the law is unconstitutional because immigration is a federal and not a state matter. "California is famous for passing this type of racist law when it finds itself in an economic recession. . . . We must not let the deportations that occurred in 1932 and 1954, when millions of Mexicans were deported, happen again in 1972."

Herman Baca, the Raza Unida organizer, told *The Militant*, "The worst thing we can do is to stay quiet."

The protests against the Dixon-Arnett Law are to continue throughout the state. Assemblyman Chacón's support of this law is a clear indication that La Raza cannot expect the Democratic Party and Mexican-

American Democrats to represent the best interests of the Chicano community. His actions point to the need to build a Raza Unida Party that will demonstrate against the likes of Chacón and also run active election campaigns against the Democrats and Republicans.

Chicano killing protested in L.A.

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—Several hundred residents of the Florence community in south central Los Angeles demonstrated March 4 to protest the killing of Raymond Hernández.

The 19-year-old Chicano youth was killed by Los Angeles County deputy sheriffs on Feb. 25. According to the cops, Hernández threw a bottle at two of their men, and they tried to subdue him. In the process, cops assert, Hernández was able to grab one of their guns and wounded the two slightly. Additional deputies arrived to aid the first two, and then Hernández was killed.

The Chicano community has a different version. Many believe that Hernández was unconscious when he was shot. It is felt that he was singled out of a crowd of young people because of his growing involvement in the efforts by Chicanos to gain control over their community.

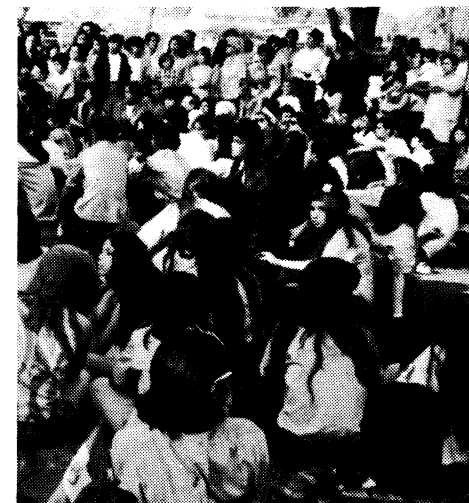
Hernández was already known to the cops and had previously been arrested in confrontations with them. He was recently active in a defense case and was a person the cops lost no love over.

To protest the killing of Hernández, community residents gathered at Roosevelt Park, where a rally heard several speakers, including the dead youth's mother. Others were Bob Ramírez of Casa Reyes Lopez Tijerina, a recently formed community group, and a representative of Casa de Caralismo, an East Los Angeles community group. The march and rally

were militant, disciplined, and peaceful.

Speakers stressed the need to organize the community to prevent further killings like this one. They pointed to the need to eliminate the drug traffic in the barrio, which many see as a tool in the government's efforts to keep the community down.

A formal request for an inquest into the causes of Hernández' death has been made. Anyone with information on this case, or wishing to contribute to the legal efforts being made around the case should contact the Casa Reyes Lopez Tijerina, the group that initiated the march and rally. They are located at 1745 E. Florence Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90001. Phone: (213) 583-5175.



Photos by Walter Lippmann

Above: Part of crowd at Roosevelt Park rally in Los Angeles protesting murder of Raymond Hernández by sheriff's deputies. Below: Protest organizer Bob Ramirez.

¡La Raza en Acción!

NIXON ADMINISTRATION LAUNCHES ATTACK ON UNITED FARM WORKERS: Peter Nash, Nixon's newly appointed counsel to the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board), has gone into federal court in Fresno, Calif., to obtain an injunction against boycotts by the UFW. A hearing is now set for April 6.

A news release from the New York office of the UFW explained that if the injunction is granted, the union will not only lose its most effective weapon against the growers, but may also become liable "for damage suits by all kinds of companies for millions of dollars."

The government action was apparently in response to a complaint filed by the Free Marketing Council, an organization of growers, packers, canners, distillers, and distributors. The Council contends that the present UFW boycott is prohibited by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). James Drake, director of organization of the United Farm Workers, responded to the hypocrisy of both the growers and the government by pointing out that "On the one hand the NLRA specifically excludes migrants from coverage, and now comes the NLRB punishing us under legislation that doesn't even cover us!"

The NLRB is presently composed of three Republicans and two Democrats. The UFW has charged that this attack issues from the highest levels of the Republican Party and has promised Republican National Committee chairman, Senator Robert J. Dole, that 25,000 farm workers will demonstrate at the Republican convention in San Diego this August if the government attack is pursued.

The collusion between the Nixon administration

and the growers was made rather clear by the appointment of NLRB General Counsel Peter Nash. Before assuming that supposedly "neutral" office, Nash was general counsel for Brown-Foreman, a distributor of Korbel Wine, presently being boycotted by the UFW. In 1968 he worked for the Services Systems Company, a subsidiary of the agribusiness giant Del Monte. During this period he authored the Nixon-Schultz farm bill, which according to the UFW "would have restricted the ability of the union to organize farm workers."

Demonstrations have taken place in many cities around the country to protest this latest attack. The UFW release pointed out that the government action comes on the heels of the historic labor contract in Florida with the foods division of Coca-Cola.

OPPRESSIVE CHILD LABOR WIDESPREAD IN AGRIBUSINESS: An editorial in the February issue of the *St. Anthony Messenger* published in Cincinnati, Ohio, supports federal legislation to protect child labor. It states that "more than one-fourth (800,000) of paid farm laborers are children under 16. . . ."

"Because adult members of a farm labor family are not paid enough to keep their families from starving, young children must go to work to help provide necessities. Often this means that the child works from 5:30 a.m. to 3 p.m. in 100 degree heat for a wage of \$1. In some parts of the country children working in strawberry fields for 10 hours a day receive 30 cents an hour."

The editorial points out that children in agriculture "are not protected from exploitation . . . by effective or enforced Federal or state legisla-

tion." In 1970, federal inspectors found more than 13,000 violations of the already weak provisions protecting children, an increase of 15 percent over 1969. New Jersey exemplifies just how weak some of the state laws protecting children are. Farmers are permitted to hire young people over 12 years of age and work them 60 hours a week, "as long as the children don't work more than 10 hours a day or more than six days in a row." Children can be worked day and night except for hours when school is in session.

The Reverend John Bank, Southern Ohio and Kentucky regional director of the United Farm Workers, charged in testimony before the Senate Rural Development Subcommittee last December that "Ohio had the most violations of existing child labor laws in the country."

He then described some of the conditions under which children labor. ". . . I, along with members of the Cincinnati Citizens for United Farm Workers, witnessed a 10-year-old girl harvesting tomatoes on a farm near Findlay, Ohio. The child was working a 7 AM-7 PM day filling 33 pound hampers of tomatoes and carrying them to the edge of a field where they were loaded onto a truck. Her piece-rate was 19c per hamper, about 67c per hour."

The Reverend Bank pointedly told the Senate committee that "It is ludicrous to imagine an auto worker taking his entire family to the plant each day to supplement his wage. Yet in Ohio's tomato and vegetable harvests, whole families must work to put together a living wage. The difference, of course, lies in the auto worker's union wage as opposed to the farm worker's powerlessness to negotiate a living wage." — ANTONIO CAMEJO

By RICHARD GARZA

The triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959 inspired the formation of many new radical groups in Latin America. One of these was the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI), which last November became the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

The PSP's founding programmatic document, *Socialist Declaration of Puerto Rico*, states that the PSP "is now moving toward a revolutionary vanguard, complete with a defined ideology for scientific socialism. . . ." (All quotes are from the English-language edition of the *Declaration* pub-

lished by the North American Committee on Latin America (NACLA).

The PSP says it "will base its program, organization, theoretical analysis and practice in Marxist-Leninist science, applying it independently to the particular conditions of our country."

The "fundamental objective" of the PSP is stated to be "the transformation of the existing colonial-capitalist structure in Puerto Rico into a Socialist and Democratic Republic of the Puerto Rican workers. For us, socialism is the political-economic system through which the working class, in alliance with all exploited classes, exercises power by means of the dictatorship

of the political positions taken by the PSP that appear to be ambiguous.

Evolution of MPI

Formed in November 1959, the MPI combined the Puerto Rican tradition of struggling for national liberation with the inspiration of the Cuban revolution. The founders of the MPI split from the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), a pro-independence organization that believed independence could be achieved through elections. The MPI also incorporated former members of the Nationalist Party, the Communist Party, and unaffiliated independentistas.

The PIP, formed in 1946, had become the loyal opposition in the Puerto Rican legislature. It lost its voting

support for the Cuban revolution, and as the U.S. aggression in Vietnam escalated, the MPI initiated antiwar actions. A massive MPI-led struggle was launched against the colonialist draft. The struggle took the form of protests on the campuses against the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) and the defense of Puerto Ricans who refused to be drafted into the U.S. Army. The Puerto Rican Legal Institute, which grew out of this struggle, has successfully defended some 1,000 young Puerto Ricans who have refused the draft.

As could be expected, the leading role of the MPI in these anti-imperialist struggles made it the target of physical attacks, not only by the po-

Such an explanation would have to deal with the various theories that have been advanced to explain the policies of the Soviet Union and other countries where capitalism has been overturned.

Some say these countries are one or another form of "state capitalism." Mao Tsetung, who is characterized in the *Declaration* as a revolutionary teacher, has said that the Soviet Union is a "fascist and imperialist" country.

Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian revolution of 1917, carried on a struggle in the 1920s and 1930s for socialist democracy against the arbitrary and conservative rule of the bureaucracy headed by Joseph Stalin. Trotsky characterized the Soviet Union under Stalin as a degenerated workers state possessing the prerequisites for building socialism—a planned economy based on nationalized industry, foreign trade, and land—but lacking democratic control by the working masses.

Those who hold Trotsky's analysis, such as the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, defend the Soviet Union against any attempt to reinstitute capitalism and at the same time support the struggle for the restoration of socialist democracy.

The *Declaration* says little about the question of workers democracy in those countries that have overturned capitalism. Will the PSP side with the those who fight for workers democracy—such as the Czechoslovakians in 1968 who wanted "socialism with a human face"—or with the Russian army sent to crush them?

The question of democracy within the working-class movement is a vital one for a revolutionary party. The MPI had a generally democratic tradition, but that is not accurately reflected in their organizational document, which makes no provision for the right of members holding minority points of view to organize, a right minorities had in Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

National liberation struggles

"Proletarian internationalism" and "mutual solidarity" should have included support to the national liber-



Photo by Claridad/LNS

1969 anti-draft march

ation struggle in Bangladesh and the antigovernment protests in Ceylon in 1971. But support would naturally contradict Mao's support to the butcher Yahya Khan, support that included arms for Pakistan.

Mao also supported the capitalist Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon, which a few months before the PSP convention initiated a murderous repression of thousands of youth who were demanding the implementation of election promises. Can the PSP reconcile this with their view of Mao as a revolutionary teacher?

These questions cannot be avoided by stating, "We will not take part in power disputes. . . ."

Continued on page 22

Questions facing Puerto Rican Socialist Party

lished by the North American Committee on Latin America (NACLA).

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strength by the late 1950s (in 1952 the PIP received 126,000 votes; in 1960 it polled only 25,000).

The Nationalist Party had been the leading pro-independence party in the 1930s and 1940s until it was brutally repressed. The selfless heroism of its cadres provided a positive tradition of struggle as opposed to the opportunism of those who relied on the electoral road, such as the PIP.

As in the United States, where the Communist Party supports the capitalist Democratic Party, the CP of Puerto Rico did not challenge the pro-imperialist Popular Democratic Party (PPD) of Muñoz Marín. The new generation of militants bypassed the CP

lice but by right-wing hooligans, including Cuban counterrevolutionaries, who have emigrated to Puerto Rico in large numbers. The MPI has met attacks, such as the burning of its headquarters, by protest actions against the ultrarightists and their government backers.

The MPI worked to mobilize Puerto Ricans against the direct imperialist domination they suffer. They sparked the organization of peasants and mobilized public opinion in a struggle against giving away the copper riches in Utuado to U.S. corporations.

Massive demonstrations demanding the independence of Puerto Rico were organized by the MPI. The largest such action was cosponsored by the MPI and the PIP last September during the U.S. governors' conference. Some 80,000 people responded to the appeal for a march in San Juan.

Ambiguous positions

The MPI, which began with a very disparate ideological composition, gradually developed greater political cohesion. Many of its members began to believe that there was an important relationship between the struggle for an independent Puerto Rico and the struggle for a socialist Puerto Rico. But as the MPI developed, there was considerable ideological confusion. Although the trend has been to the left, the MPI's evolution into an openly socialistic formation has not eliminated some ambiguous programmatic positions on very important questions. While declaring itself Marxist-Leninist, the PSP does not take clear positions on political differences within the left.

Let us look at some of the major questions the PSP leaves unanswered or ambiguously answered.

The *Declaration* states, "We affirm the principle of proletarian internationalism and the necessity of mutual solidarity among the revolutionary and anti-imperialist governments, peoples, parties and organizations of the world. . . ." But, "We will not take part in the power disputes within the socialist camp and the so-called Third World. Nor do we accept tutelage nor recognize hegemonic centers which would dictate guidelines to our party."

The PSP rejects taking orders from "hegemonic centers"—Moscow, Peking, and Havana, we assume—demonstrating its independence and integrity. As Marxists, though, they will have to explain why these centers "dictate" to fraternal parties. They will have to explain why there are "power disputes" within "the socialist camp"—disputes that have led to armed clashes on the Sino-Soviet border and to the Soviet invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.



Photo by Miguel Rivera, Claridad

Pro-independence marchers protest U.S. governors' conference, September 1971.

of the proletariat, destroys the bourgeoisie and obtains complete control of the productive apparatus in order to organize and develop the economic growth of the country and redistribute the wealth on the basis of 'to each according to his work.'"

This development signifies recognition by one important component of the independence movement that U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico should not be replaced by Puerto Rican capitalism, but that national independence can come only through a socialist revolution. It also indicates recognition that the principal agency of social change is the Puerto Rican working class and that a revolutionary party of a Leninist type is necessary.

The construction of a Marxist-Leninist party is a long and difficult task. As the PSP has itself indicated, its success in accomplishing this goal will be determined by its actions.

To facilitate a better understanding of the problems and prospects of the PSP, this article will sketch the evolution of the MPI and examine some

and moved forward to expand and develop the MPI.

After its inception the MPI became more and more radical. The development of the Cuban revolution into a socialist revolution was a crucial aspect of this process. Another factor impelling the MPI toward a more radical view of society was the ever more apparent bankruptcy of "Operation Bootstrap," the "industrialization program" initiated by the colonial government of Muñoz Marín in 1948 to enable Yankee big business to take advantage of low wages and taxes.

Despite Marín's rhetoric about "great successes," the social and economic ills of Puerto Rico did not disappear. About one-third of Puerto Rico's population emigrated to the United States in search of jobs. Despite the mass emigration, unemployment remains about 30 percent. The per capita income is lower than in Mississippi, the poorest of the 50 states, and Puerto Ricans have to pay higher prices for many essential commodities than do Mississippians.

The MPI had taken the lead in or-

In Review

Books

Writings of Marx and Engels on Ireland

Ireland and the Irish Question. A collection of writings by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. 518 pages. Cloth \$2.50.

The letters, articles, notes, speeches, and sections of larger works that comprise this collection span the half-century from 1843 to 1894. Many of them read as though written with the current situation in Ireland in mind. The book begins with an article written by 22-year-old Frederick Engels in 1843, five years before the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*. Even at that time, when the bourgeoisie was still in the process of consolidating its rule in Europe, Engels remarked on its fear of the masses and its inability to carry out a consistent struggle for its own demands.

He refers to the massive mobilization of the Irish nation for the repeal of the legislative union with England, a movement led by Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic lawyer and landowner. Rallies of hundreds of thousands were repeatedly held in a nation of some eight-and-a-quarter-million people. Engels writes:

"If O'Connell were really the man of the people, if he had sufficient courage and were not himself frightened of the people, i.e., if he were not a two-faced Whig but an uptight, consistent democrat, the last English soldier would have left Ireland long since. . . ." (P. 35; emphasis in original.)



Drawing from Lutte Ouvriere

Engels' observation was soon proved in more general terms by the revolutions of 1848, when the European bourgeoisie demonstrated that it preferred the rule of the feudal aristocracy to the mobilization of the masses in revolutionary action. The inability of the capitalist class, including its Irish members, to solve the problems of Ireland—a fact that Engels understood in the early 1840s—makes the ideas of revolutionary socialism relevant to Ireland.

Equally important for revolutionaries today, however, is the treatment of Irish nationalism in this book. Marx and Engels believed that a correct understanding of Irish nationalism was central to the socialist revolution in all of Europe. In a speech to the General Council of the First International on Dec. 14, 1869, the minutes record Marx as saying that he "considered the solution of the Irish question as the solution of the English, and the English as the solution of the European." (P. 159.)

In March of 1870 Marx, who often stressed his view of England as "the metropolis of landlordism and capitalism all over the world" (p. 290), wrote that "it is a precondition to the emancipation of the English working class to transform the present forced union (i.e., the enslavement of Ireland) into equal and free confederation if possible, into complete separation if need be." (P. 163; emphasis in original.)

Both Marx and Engels recognized that the working class was divided in its attitude toward the oppression of Ire-

land. Both of them felt that the English workers' attitude toward the Irish was similar to the attitude of poor whites in the southern United States toward Blacks. "*The secret of the impotence of the English working class*," Marx said, is its division "into two hostile camps." In preparing a policy to enable the revolutionary workers to overcome this division, he insisted "it is the task of the International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland." (Pp. 293-294; emphasis in original.)

Originally, Marx thought that the liberation of Ireland would come about as a result of the victory of the English working class in its struggle against British capitalism. But his studies, together with the experience of the Fenian rebellion of 1867 and the subsequent events, caused him to change his estimate, as is reflected in the previous quotation. In a letter written in November 1869, Marx says:

"I have become more and more convinced—and the only question is to drive this conviction home to the English working class—that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship. And this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because it will have to join with them in a common front against Ireland." (Pp. 280-281; emphasis in original.)

The founders of scientific socialism welcomed the nationalism of the Irish people as a powerful force in the struggle against the British empire. Writing to the German socialist Karl Kautsky in 1882, Engels said of the Irish, "They are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic." (P. 332.) In referring to the Irish organizations of the First International in an 1872 report to the General Council of that group, Engels says, "their first and most pressing duty, as Irishmen, was to establish their own national independence." (P. 303.)

In that same report, Engels answers the argument that the nationalism of the oppressed "divides the working class." "If members of a conquering nation," says Engels, "called upon the nation they had conquered and continued to hold down to forget their specific nationality and position, to 'sink national differences' and so forth, that was not internationalism" but rather the preaching of submission to national oppression. (P. 303.)

Throughout their writings on Ireland, Marx and Engels repeatedly assert the nationalist character of the Irish struggle. They call for the advocacy of Irish national demands by the English working class. Far from viewing Irish nationalism as dividing the working class (which was already split by the national oppression of the Irish people), Marx and Engels maintained that Irish nationalism could unite the working class in a revolutionary struggle against the British empire.

The value today of Marx and Engels' work on Ireland can readily be seen. Those who attempt to counterpose unity of the Catholic and Protestant sections of the working class in Northern Ireland to Irish nationalism are missing the only way that such unity can come about. Today, as in Marx and Engels' time, what is needed is the mobilization of the working masses in all of Ireland—not just the six northern counties—around the demand for an independent Ireland. Only such a national mobilization could put enough pressure on the relatively privileged Protestant section of the working class—with its reactionary political tradition and chauvinist bigotry toward the Catholic masses—to convince part of it to come over to the side of the Irish revolution.

Along with the extensive material on nationalism, this collection has large sections on the history and economy of Ireland. It also includes the record of the First International's consistent and principled defense of Irish political prisoners.

In this connection, a supplement containing a series of fine articles by Marx's daughter Jenny, who was very active in the defense of political prisoners and in the organization of publicity on their mistreatment, should be mentioned. Her articles, as well as the thorough annotation of unfamiliar names, historical incidents and references, enhance the usefulness of this book.

—DAVE FRANKEL

The following is part of an article written by Frederick Engels and dated Nov. 14, 1872. The meeting in Hyde Park it describes occurred on Nov. 3, 1872. The full article appears in *Ireland and the Irish Question* under the title "Letters from London" (III).

The Irish members of the International in London decided to organize a giant demonstration in Hyde Park (the largest public park in London, where all the big popular meetings take place during political campaigns) to demand a general amnesty. They contacted all London's democratic organizations and formed a committee which included MacDonnell (an Irishman), Murray (an Englishman) and Lessner (a German)—all members of the General Council of the International.

A difficulty arose: at the last session of Parliament the government passed a law which gave it the right to regulate public meetings in London's parks. It made use of this and had the regulation posted up to warn those who wanted to hold such a public meeting that they just give a written notification to the police two days prior to calling it, indicating the names of the speakers. This regulation carefully kept hidden from the London press destroyed with one stroke of the pen one of the most precious rights of London's working people—the right to hold meetings in parks when and how they please. To submit to this regulation would be to sacrifice one of the people's rights.

The Irish, who represent the most revolutionary element of the population, were not men to display such weakness. The committee unanimously decided to act as if it did not know of the existence of this regulation and to hold their meeting in defiance of the government's decree.

Last Sunday at about three o'clock in the afternoon two enormous processions with bands and banners marched towards Hyde Park. The bands played Irish songs and the *Marseillaise*; almost all the banners were Irish (green with a gold harp in the middle) or red. There were only a few police agents at the entrances to the park and the columns of demonstrators marched in without meeting with any resistance. They assembled at the appointed place and the speeches began.

The spectators numbered at least thirty thousand and at least half had a green ribbon or a green leaf in their buttonhole to show they were Irish; the rest were English, German and French. The crowd was too large for all to be able to hear the speeches, and so a second meeting was organized nearby with other orators speaking on the same theme. Forceful resolutions were adopted demanding a general amnesty and the repeal of the coercion laws which keep Ireland under a permanent state of siege. At about five o'clock the demonstrators formed up into files again and left the park, thus having flouted the regulation of Gladstone's Government.

This is the first time an Irish demonstration has been held in Hyde

Continued on page 22

Why wage increases do not cause inflation

By DICK ROBERTS

It is drummed into everyone's head by the capitalist press, politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, and economic "experts" of all varieties that higher wages cause inflation. This myth is not even denied by trade-union leaders.

When George Meany and three other top labor officials resigned from Nixon's Pay Board on March 22 the AFL-CIO Executive Council issued a statement supposedly explaining why the Pay Board didn't work. But the statement took it for granted that higher wages are at least one of the causes of inflation.

The statement implied that under some other circumstances besides the Nixon administration's leadership, a Pay Board might work. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats stated: "We joined the Pay Board in good faith, desiring—despite our misgivings—to give it a fair chance, and with the hope that we could bring the voice of workers into the decision-making process. . . ."

The idea that a Pay Board might have a "fair chance" of working rests on the assumption that controlling wages could control inflation. But this assumption is totally false. Higher wages never were and never will be the cause of inflation.

The major cause of the inflation that has sent prices skyrocketing in this country in the last seven years is government deficit spending, above all to pay for the war in Southeast Asia.

The effect of the war on prices can easily be seen by looking at figures published by the government's *Monthly Labor Review*. The March 1972 issue of this Labor Department publication shows that before the escalation of the war, from 1958 to 1964, the consumer price index rose an average of 1.3 percent a year. It began spiraling upward in 1965:

1958-59	up 0.8%
1959-60	up 1.6%
1960-61	up 1.0%
1961-62	up 1.1%
1962-63	up 1.2%
1963-64	up 1.3%
1964-65	up 1.7%
1965-66	up 2.9%
1966-67	up 2.9%
1967-68	up 4.2%
1968-69	up 5.4%
1969-70	up 5.9%
1970-71	up 4.3%

Between 1965 and 1971, prices rose more than 28 percent. And as of February of this year, prices were rising

as shown in the March 1972 *Monthly Labor Review*:

1965	\$102.41
1966	\$102.31
1967	\$101.26
1968	\$102.45
1969	\$101.49
1970	\$99.66
1971	\$102.78 (through November)

The real wages of American workers have already been frozen during the entire history of the Vietnam war. On top of this Nixon's wage controls are driving back wage increases even further.

The January issue of *Monthly Labor Review* made initial estimates of the effects of the wage freeze. It reported that the average increase in union wages for 1971 was 8.3 percent and confidently predicted that this will be reduced to 6.5 percent in 1972.

The reasons for this declining trend, according to the report, are "a relatively light collective bargaining schedule, smaller deferred wage increases, and the Pay Board's 5.5-percent restriction on wage and benefit increases." Including figures for unorganized workers—and the overwhelming majority of American workers are not in unions—*Monthly Labor Review* reports that wage increases for all workers "slowed markedly in the third quarter [of 1971], partly as a result of the wage-price freeze." The fact that prices increased considerably while real wages were frozen exposes the lie that wage increases cause inflation.

The effects of the initial period of wage controls, recovery from recession, and spiraling prices are stamped on the profit reports for U.S. corporations in the fourth quarter of 1971, that is, in the period after the wage controls went into effect. According to the Feb. 4 *Wall Street Journal*, the 1971 fourth-quarter profits of 464 major corporations were up 25.3 percent above the same period in 1970.

At a news conference on Jan. 20, Fred J. Borch, chief executive of the General Electric Co., boasted that GE profits had set an all-time high in 1971, exceeding 1967's record \$361.4-million by about 30 percent. Borch stated, "Most economists, including our own, are looking to a medium to very strong year." He felt that "a great deal is riding on the degree of success of the current economic program under Phase Two."



Photo by Joel Aber

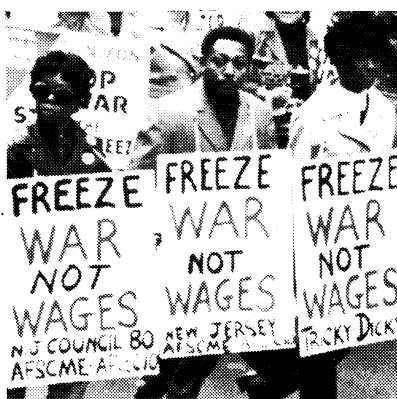


Photo by Sally Feingold

Labor contingents against the war: left, Nov. 15, 1969; right, Nov. 6, 1971.

at an annual rate in 1972 of 6 percent, despite the so-called price controls!

These rising prices, coupled with an increasing tax burden to finance the government, have completely eaten up wage increases. Information on this is also supplied by the *Monthly Labor Review*. It computes a figure representing the real weekly wage of manufacturing workers with three dependents. This is their actual purchasing power (based on 1967 dollars) after price increases and taxes have been taken into account.

Here are the average weekly earnings of these manufacturing workers

Corporate executives know very well that prices and profits are not controlled in Phase One, Phase Two, or any other phase of capitalist controls. *These controls are aimed only at wages.*

That is why *The Militant* warned from the start that the Pay Board was a hoax and criticized the trade-union bureaucrats who agreed to take part in it.

The only way workers can defend themselves against inflation is through their own independent actions, including strikes if necessary, to win sufficient pay increases to keep up with the war-primed inflation.

Jenness supports homosexual rights

The following statement by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, was presented, along with statements by other presidential candidates, at a Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) press conference held in New York City on March 13.

In my campaign, I have spoken out unconditionally on behalf of struggles of gay people for full democratic, civil, and human rights; and against all the forms of discrimination and oppression gay people face in this society.

If elected president, I would immediately issue an executive order banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the Federal gov-



Linda Jenness

ernment, including the armed forces. I would also immediately issue an executive order banning discrimination against aliens by the Immigration and Naturalization Service on the basis of sexual orientation. I would restore full veterans' rights to all individuals previously given less than full honorable discharges for consensual sodomy.

I will continue to campaign for legislation on the local, State and Federal level, such as Intro 475 in New York City, aimed at prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in the areas of housing, employment, and public accommodations. And I would support an amendment to the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

In addition, I favor the repeal of all laws, such as sodomy and solicitation laws, that oppress gays. All government victimization of gay people, from police harassment and violence to governmental collection of data on the sexual preferences of individuals, should be ended.

I endorse, and if possible will personally attend, Christopher Street Liberation Day in June, and invite all my Democratic and Republican opponents to do the same.

My campaign is dedicated to ending the capitalist system of oppression and inequality, a system which degrades human life, warps cultural values, and prevents people from controlling their lives.

Full liberation, with complete human dignity, cannot be found in an unjust and exploitative society. An alternative is needed—a socialist alternative.

Iranian student fights deportation attempt

By MIKE KELLY

SEATTLE, March 20—Babak Zahraie, Iranian foreign student leader at the University of Washington, was ordered deported from the United States by the U.S. Immigration Service on March 14. According to Dan Smith, Zahraie's American Civil Liberties Union attorney, this decision is being appealed to the Immigration Board of Appeals in Washington, D.C. If the Board of Appeals refuses to overturn the deportation order, Zahraie will appeal the ruling to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. There is an automatic stay of execution of the deportation order pending appeals.

Zahraie, 21, is president of the University of Washington Foreign Student Council. The Immigration and Naturalization Department initiated deportation proceedings against him on Feb. 9. At that time Zahraie was coordinator of the Council of Student Delegates to Roll Back Tuition, a coalition fighting a tuition increase at the university.

Immigration officials claimed that Zahraie's role as a leader of the campus struggle was "a disgrace to this nation." The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie—whose sponsors include MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán), Graduate Professional Student Senate, Young Democrats, Foreign Student

Council, the Iranian Student Association, and the Student Mobilization Committee—launched demonstrations in support of Zahraie on Feb. 22, 25, and 28, when hearings were held before local authorities.

In the March 14 decision, the Immigration Department hearing officer, John W. Keane, ruled that Zahraie did not have proper papers when he made a short trip to Canada in November 1971. Keane declared he had no jurisdiction to consider the fact that Zahraie was unable to comply with the Immigration Department's regulations because the department was holding his passport. Immigration authorities had earlier dropped other charges, including one of "subversion," in the face of public protest.

Bahram Atai, secretary of the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, announced that the committee plans to step up its activities and has launched a petition campaign on the University of Washington campus. Atai said that the committee is still in need of funds to press the appeal. Donations should be sent to the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie, c/o University of Washington "Hub," Seattle, Wash. 98105.

If the U.S. government succeeds in deporting Babak Zahraie to Iran, he could face imprisonment, torture, and death, as has been the fate of other Iranian student activists.

Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE AND CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. April 7-9, Boston University. Donation: \$5.50 for entire conference, including banquet; \$2.50 for classes only; 50c per session. Fri., April 7, 7:30 p.m.: *The Nature of Women's Oppression*. Panel discussion: Evelyn Reed, noted anthropologist and feminist author; Dr. Barbara Roberts, national project director, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. BU Law Auditorium.

Sat., April 8, 10:30 a.m.: Wilhelm Reich and the Sexual Revolution. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, WONAAC. 2:30 p.m.: Can Antiwar Candidates End the War? Panel discussion: Jeanne Lafferty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the 9th C.D., Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; and representatives from Youth for McGovern and Youth for Muskie. Sessions held in BU Ballroom, Sherman Union.

Sat., April 8. **CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** 6 p.m.: Refreshments. 7 p.m.: Banquet. 8:30 p.m.: Rally. Speakers include: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; and Jeanne Lafferty, Socialist Workers Party candidate from the 9th C.D. Donation: \$3. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor.

Sun., April 9, 1 p.m.: How Can Students Change Society? Panel discussion: Alan Einhorn, candidate for president of BU Student Union; John Zirinski, vice-president of B.U. Student Union; and Dave Keepnews, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York State Assembly, high school student. 3 p.m.: *The Wage Freeze: The Great Payroll Robbery*. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. Sessions held in BU Ballroom, Sherman Union.

Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For more information, call (617) 482-8051.

VOICES OF DISSENT. An Independent Black Political Party? Guests include: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; and Jesse McDade, chairman, Brown U Afro-American Studies Department. Wed., April 5, 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., April 8, 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

BROOKLYN

NIXON AND MAO—WHO'S GOT WHAT? Speaker: George Novack, Marxist author. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

REVOLUTION AND REPRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA. Panel discussion with eyewitnesses. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1 h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Delfine Welch, founding member of Boston Female Liberation and member of Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Fri., April 7, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA ABORTION ACTION CONFERENCE. To map plans for Minnesota's Abortion Action Week. Sat., April 8, Blegen Hall, University of Minnesota. Registration: 9-10 a.m. Conference begins at 10 a.m. Constituency workshops: 11 a.m., followed by plenary. Rally: 8 p.m., with speakers including Matilde Zimmerman, WONAAC; Phyllis Kahn, NOW; Betty Hoop, West Suburban Council for Women's Liberation; Becky Bohan, University of Minnesota Women's Liberation. Child care available. Conference open to all women. Rally open to everyone. For more information, call (612) 341-3844.

NEW ENGLAND

HEAR ANDREW PULLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Mon., April 3, 11:30 a.m. on WRKO radio. 7:30 p.m.: University of New Hampshire in Durham, Memorial Union Building, Multipurpose Room.

Tues., April 4, 11 a.m.: Bradford Junior College in Bradford, Mass., Student Union Building. 8:30 p.m.: Common Sense Bookstore, Fort Devens, Ayer, Mass.

Wed., April 5, 7:30 p.m.: City-wide high school meeting. Roxbury, Mass., YMCA, Adult Lounge.

Thurs., April 6, 4:30 p.m.: New Africa House, U of Mass. at Amherst. 8 p.m.: Campus-wide meeting at U of Mass. in Amherst, Mahar Auditorium.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE BLACK STRUGGLE AND THE TRANSIT WORKERS UNION. Speaker: Joseph Carnegie, president, Rank-and-File Committee of the Transit Workers Union. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (at 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

A REPORT ON THE NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 106 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. West Side Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

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CHOICE '72. Election campaign panel: Representatives from Youth for Chisholm, Muskie, McCarthy, and McGovern, and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 145 Dwinelle, U.C. Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

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MILITANT LABOR FORUM. Fri., April 7, at 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. For further information, call (415) 626-9958.

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CHILE: ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM? Speakers: David Elsila, member of the Labor Press Unit of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, recently returned from a Guardian-sponsored trip to Chile; Pat Strandt, head of the Labor Press Unit of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO; and Vinnie Longo, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

...PSP

Continued from page 19

The *Declaration* raises the hope that the entry of China into the United Nations will increase the votes for Puerto Rican independence. But if Mao could betray the struggles in Bangladesh and Ceylon—populous countries in Asia—what can be expected from him in relation to small countries in Nixon's backyard?

We have seen new regimes in Chile, Peru, and until recently, in Bolivia refer to themselves as "anti-imperialist" while maintaining capitalism. What does the PSP think of these governments?

There is a call in the *Declaration* "to restore the revolutionary and anti-imperialist unity of Latin America. . . ." Among the principles guiding the anti-imperialist struggles is "recognition of the diversity of forms of struggle." Does the PSP then mean to include recognition of the "peaceful road to socialism" advocated by the class-collaborationist, popular-front government of Allende?

A correct analysis of what is happening today in these countries is crucial to the movement in Puerto Rico, as it is to the rest of Latin America. Failure to achieve a correct analysis can lead to errors in developing a revolutionary program and policy for Puerto Rico.

A future article will discuss the PSP's position on the forthcoming elections in Puerto Rico.

...strike

Continued from page 17

ing, indicate a somewhat more reserved opinion of the settlement than that given by Bluestone. Many problems remain unresolved in the ongoing dispute between the young work force in Lordstown and GMAD.

...Engels

Continued from page 20

Park; it was very successful and even the London bourgeois press cannot deny this. It is also the first time the English and Irish sections of our population have united in friendship. These two elements of the working class, whose enmity towards each other

er was so much in the interests of the government and wealthy classes, are now offering one another the hand of friendship; this gratifying fact is due principally to the influence of the General Council of the International, which has always directed all its efforts to unite the workers of both peoples on a basis of complete equality. This meeting, of the 3rd November, will usher in a new era in the history of London's working-class movement.

...unity

Continued from page 10

April 24 and November 6 [1971] demonstrations are cases in point. Now, more than ever, our differences must not interfere with the building of the spring actions. One hundred tons of explosives are dropped every hour on Indochina. Three hundred Indo-chinese die each day. American GIs continue to die. In the first three months of 1972, Nixon will have ordered as many raids against North Vietnam as in all of 1971. The need for unity is hardly academic.

We appeal to PCPJ, as we do to all who oppose the war, to unite in building the April 1 and April 22 actions. *Divisiveness in the U.S. antiwar movement serves only the warmakers*, and makes it easier for them to continue the slaughter. Recognition of this evident truth should be sufficient to bring us together in the streets this spring. The need for unity in action is crucial.

...Ireland

Continued from page 24

The Dublin government of Prime Minister Jack Lynch has made clear its willingness to cooperate with the British plan. In the March 25 *Irish Times*, Michael McInerney writes of the Dublin reaction to Heath's plan, "There were . . . clear indications from the Government . . . of tougher measures against the I. R. A.'s if the bombing and killing campaigns were continued in the North."

The very limited nature of Heath's "reforms" compared to the expectations that have been aroused and the obvious determination of the British to continue their military measures may well lead to new conflict with the nationalist community sooner than Heath expects.

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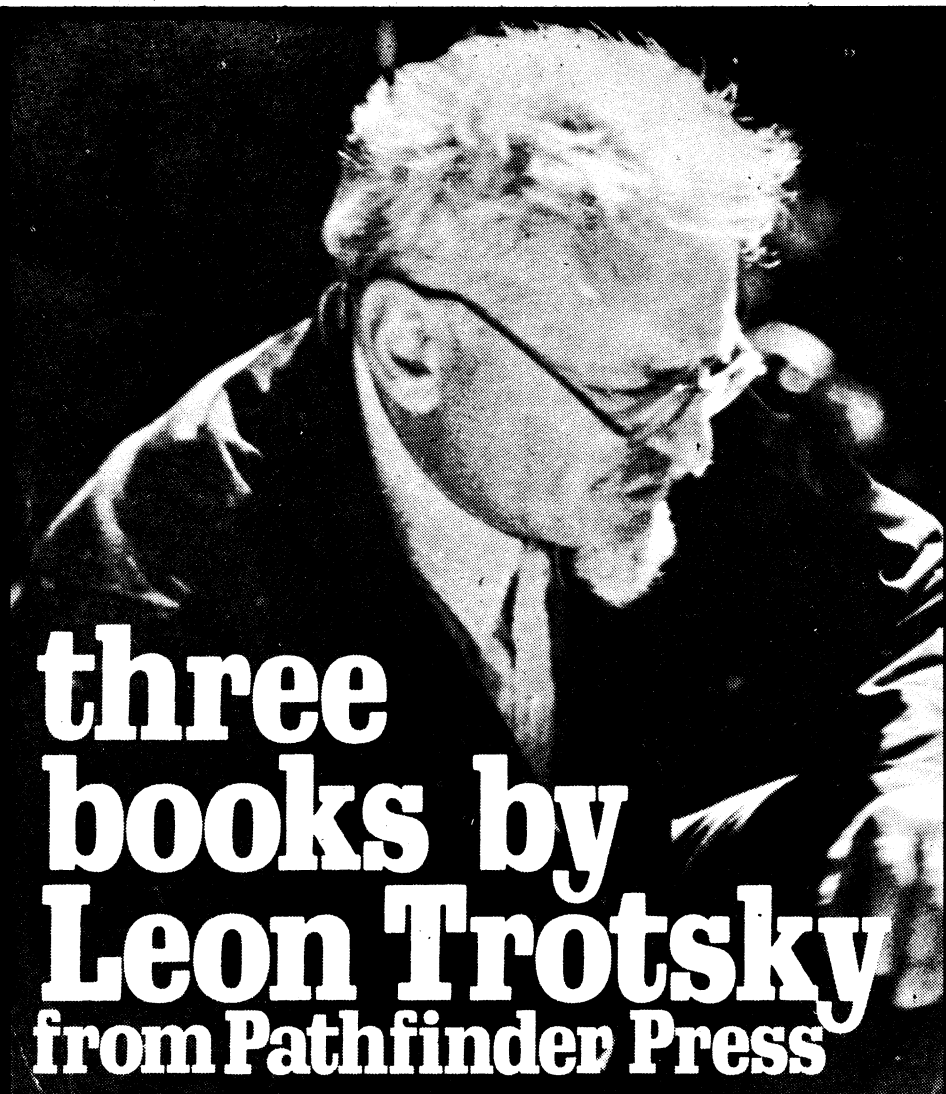
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British government imposes direct rule on Northern Ireland

BY DAVE FRANKEL

MARCH 28—The suspension of the Stormont parliament in Northern Ireland for one year by British Prime Minister Edward Heath—a suspension that many believe to be a prelude to the introduction of a new system of government—has struck down one of the central symbols of the oppression of the Catholic minority there. Maintained for more than 50 years on the slogan of "a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people," the Stormont government finally foundered in face of the massive opposition of the oppressed nationalist population of Northern Ireland.

However, the declaration of direct rule by the Heath government, the promise that the hated policy of internment will be "phased out," and the vaguer promises of further changes have all had the effect of partially renewing the trust of the Catholic community for the British government, a sentiment that had virtually disappeared after the introduction of internment last August.

So far the most vocal opposition to Heath's decision has come from the right-wing Unionists. They called a two-day general strike and held mass rallies that have vowed non-cooperation with the new British administration.

Alvin Shuster points out in a March 27 *New York Times* article: "It was a more radical move than Mr. Heath had wanted to make. As the death toll rose, the Irish question was once again dominating British political life. The image of Britain abroad . . . was slowly tarnishing. And the Ulster government remained intransigent to key proposals from London."

The general response to the British initiative in the nationalist communities is summed up in the statement of one Derry Catholic quoted by Michael Stern in the March 28 *New York Times*. He says, "we are all thirsting for peace. So are all the boys in the internment camps. The I.R.A. wants them out, so do I, but we have the Government's promise that they'll be let out gradual if the fighting stops. I'm for letting them prove it."

The main hope of the Heath gov-

ernment is that promises of reforms will cause division between the different sections of the Catholic community and lead to its demobilization. This would allow the army to carry out its campaign against the left wing without fear of a mass confrontation.

The reformist Social Democratic and Labour Party, according to the March 27 *Irish Times*, "welcomed Mr. Heath's initiative and would give full co-operation to its implementation," while claiming that it would not participate in any talks until internment is completely ended.

Both wings of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) condemned the British move, pointing out that it met none of the demands of the Catholic community in the area of civil rights: an end to internment, amnesty for political prisoners, and withdrawal of the British troops from Ireland. In response to appeals from elements in the Catholic communities to call off military actions in order to test the proposals, the Official IRA has indicated that it has carried out such actions only in defense of the nationalist communities or in retaliation for specific outrages, and that it will continue this policy. The March 27 *Irish Times* reports that "it is now perfectly clear that there is a division of opinion among the Provisional I.R.A. in Belfast as to whether or not their campaign should be continued. . . ."

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and the Civil Resistance Movement have announced that they will continue their rallies and the campaign of nonpayment of rents, and gas and electricity bills but will call off illegal marches for one month. The Northern Resistance Movement, another component of the civil rights movement in the North, indicated that it will continue all of its activities. All have insisted that the British proposals meet none of their demands.

The declaration of direct rule by the British government included some window-dressing measures—regular plebiscites on the question of the unification of Ireland (but to be held only in six of the 32 counties of Ireland) and the appointment of a commission supposedly representing all views in Northern Ireland. The commission will have only an advisory capacity.

The British government has taken over formal responsibility for military operations in Northern Ireland, a responsibility it has always had in reality. The Stormont government is being held in abeyance. According to Heath, "We intend within the next few weeks to set free, subject to safeguards where appropriate, those internees whose release is no longer thought likely to involve an unacceptable risk to security."

James Downey, writing in the March 25 *Irish Times*, estimates that this would include only about 150 out of the almost 800 men now interned.

Downey concludes by saying, "It is widely thought at Westminster that the amelioration involved in the scaling down of internment will be accompanied by even more stringent military measures, including stricter control of the Border."

Continued on page 22



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Liam McMillan, commander of the official Irish Republican Army in Belfast, spoke to 97 people at the New York Upper West Side Militant Forum, March 24.

'Motive not political,' prosecution alleges in Davis frame-up

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., March 27—"The Soledad Brothers have been acquitted," Angela Davis announced joyfully as she left the San Jose courthouse at noon today. Several minutes earlier, prosecuting attorney Albert Harris had charged in his opening statement that freedom for the Soledad Brothers was Davis' principal objective when she planned, financed, and helped carry out a kidnapping and jailbreak attempt on Aug. 7, 1970.



Angela Davis

But her act, stated Harris, "was not done out of concern for social justice, and not to free political prisoners, but just to free the prisoner she loved." That prisoner, the singular individual to whom Davis supposedly committed "her life and fortune," was George Jackson.

Harris asserted that Davis fell in love with Jackson at first sight when she attended a court session for the Soledad Brothers in April 1970. "By the end of May, her association with the Jackson family was at a point where she, Jonathan, and Mrs. Jackson [mother of Jonathan and George] bought ammunition together." But her passionate affair with Jackson, intoned the prosecutor, was not "consummated" until "the bloody day of horror."

Harris stared at Davis, who was quietly taking notes. "Beneath that cool academic veneer," he said, "is a woman capable of being moved to violence by passion . . . a passion for Jackson that knew no bounds, a passion that had no respect for life . . . it's the oldest motive we know."

The key element in Davis' love life, the prosecution contends, was George's 17-year-old brother, Jonathan; because of his youth he was able to enter the Marin County courthouse Aug. 7 without arousing suspicion. Jonathan Jackson's briefcase supposedly contained an automatic pistol, a rifle, a sawed-off shotgun, three books in French, and two books with Davis' signature on the inside cover.

Jackson entered the courtroom in which San Quentin convict James McClain was being tried for assaulting a prison guard. McClain, who was representing himself, had called several witnesses to testify in his behalf, including Ruchell Magee and Willie Christmas.

After taking four hostages in an

escape attempt, the prisoners and Jonathan Jackson inadvertently met news photographer Jim Keane in the corridor. Keane says he heard Jackson call out, "Tell them we want the Soledad Brothers released by 12 o'clock." This is the only piece of evidence submitted that links Aug. 7, 1970, with a possible attempt to free the Soledad Brothers who were not present at the time of the incident.

As the group of convicts and hostages tried to escape in a yellow van, they were fired on by the police. Nineteen seconds later, McClain, Christmas, Jackson, and Judge Harold Haley were dead. While the shooting was taking place, Harris told the jury, Davis was waiting for the yellow van at the San Francisco airport. It might be presumed that George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers were to be exchanged for the hostages at the airport, and that they and Davis would then fly to an unknown destination. But by some means that Harris did not explain, Davis learned that the kidnapping attempt had failed and hurriedly took a plane to Los Angeles. She was arrested two months later in New York City.

SAN JOSE, Calif., March 28—Angela Davis' opening statement to the court was postponed this morning because of an alleged escape attempt from the Santa Clara County jail, which is next door to the courtroom where Davis is being tried. One of the escapees, a white prisoner named Chuck Williamson, was killed by the police.

The story Under Sheriff Thomas J. Rosa gave to the press is that at about 8:30 a.m., three prisoners charged with felonious robbery—Norman Lucas, Ted Guerrero, and Williamson—were in the jail dispensary. The prisoners pulled out what appeared to be prison-made knives and threatened to kill a cop and a secretary they had taken as hostages unless authorities provided them with an automobile for the escape. About two hours later the prisoners decided they had negotiated long enough. Still armed only with knives, they demanded that one of the policemen who confronted them hand over his gun. The cop refused, the prisoners threatened to kill the hostages, and at that point "the officers moved in."

In order to provide firsthand reporting of the Angela Davis trial, *Militant* reporter Michael Schreiber will be attending the trial every day. Beginning in our next issue, we will print a summary of each day's highlights in the trial, in addition to a news article. If your subscription is about to expire, renew now so you won't miss any of these articles.

During the incident, a crowd of spectators gathered outside the jail building. Chicanos in the crowd became angry when they learned that two of the prisoners, Guerrero and Lucas, were Chicanos.

The killing of five Chicanos and Blacks by the San Jose police in the last 21 months has led to a movement for community control of the city police.